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LAOCOON

A fine piece of sculpture which very well symbolises the
Ordeal of Humanity

A BRIEF SURVEY OF HUMAN HISTORY

PART II

BY

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KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY 2

Part 1 published June 1938.

Acc. No.	13291
Class No.	G.1.1
Book No.	108

Printed by M. N. KULKARNI at the KARNATAK PRINTING PRESS, Chira Bazar,
Bombay, and published by him at the KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Chira Bazar, Bombay 2.

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SECTION THREE

Herein is described the transition from the Ancient to the Modern world: Chapter XV deals with *The Rise of Islam* which vitally affected the history of both Asia and Europe. In Chapter XVI are revealed the unsuccessful efforts *Towards Better Order in Europe* made by the Holy Roman Emperors, leading to the historic rivalry between Church and State. Chapter XVII shows *The Sway of the Cross* through the power of the Popes, the Monastic Orders, and the Crusades. *Medieval Life in Europe* in all its phases is described in Chapter XVIII, while Chapter XIX throws a flood of light on *The East in Medieval Times*, particularly China, India, and Greater India. The great discoveries and intellectual movements in *The Age of Expansion* form the subject matter of Chapter XX, and their culmination in *The Reformation in Europe* is dealt with in Chapter XXI.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE RISE OF ISLAM

Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer...It was the broadest, freshest, and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world, and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind.—H. G. WELLS

The transition from the Ancient World to the Modern is difficult to express in definite chronological terms. But the line, however arbitrary, must be drawn somewhere. In the history of Europe the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) is taken as a clear turning point. In the history of India, the commencement of Mughal rule (1526) is considered by some as a suitable stage from which to begin our 'modern' period. However, both these happenings in the history of the World had their beginnings in the Rise of Islam, which therefore may be taken, for all practical purposes, as the 'watershed' which divides the two streams in World History. Geographically, the home of Islam affords a corridor between Europe and Asia ; while culturally also it shares the characteristics of more than one civilisation. Though Arabia played no direct part in the history of humanity so far traced by us, that peninsula was the reservoir from which the various branches of the Semitic race, the Babylonians, the Israelites, the Phœnicians, etc., 'moved out and vitally affected the course of human history. Arabia

had also been, though only nominally, a province of several Empires in succession, viz., of Egypt, Persia, Macedonia, Rome, and Constantinople. But it was now her turn to build up an Empire of her own which would challenge comparison with the greatest. This was due to the sudden rise of a new religion.

For centuries before Muhammad preached Islam (622-632 A.D.) the people of Arabia had stagnated in the back-waters of their desert peninsula. They led a wild and nomadic life of unrelieved tribal struggles, except during a part of the year when, as in ancient Greece during the Olympic festivities, the 'truce of God' was proclaimed to enable all the Arabs to meet in Mecca for worship at the shrine of *Kaaba*. This comprised a cubical black stone, which was believed to have fallen from Heaven, and supplied the only unifying factor in an otherwise chaotic world. For the rest of the year the Arabs worshipped their own tribal deities, indulged in their blood-feuds, or revelled in their incontinent orgies. Music was the only elevating influence in their lives. It was in such a world that the Prophet Muhammad was born (c. 570 A.D.). He belonged to the distinguished clan of Qureishis, who controlled the sacred shrine of *Kaaba*, though his family was rather poor in worldly possessions.

Nothing eventful happened to Muhammad until he was forty years of age, unless it be his marriage with a rich widow named Kadijah who was by several years his senior. Then came his great 'conversion' when the Angel Gabriel brought to him the message of *Allah*. After this revelation Muhammad boldly proclaimed his famous gospel : "*There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His prophet.*" Although this formula has become to-day the creed of about 300,000,000 people (of whom over one-fifth are in India), the Prophet was not honoured at first in his own land. Like

most reformers he was persecuted by his own people in Mecca, and had to seek shelter in another city since named Medina—Madinat-un-Nabi or the Prophet's City. His flight or *Hijrah* took place in 622 A.D. and marks the first year of the Muslim Era. After the decisive battle of Badr, Muhammad returned victorious to Mecca and, before his death in 632 A.D., made himself the master over the entire peninsula.

The successors of Muhammad in leadership were called the *Caliphs*. Within a century of the Prophet's death they carried his message to thousands of people in the three continents of Africa, Europe, and Asia. Though in course of time, they split up into the three corresponding *Caliphates* of Cairo in Africa, Cordoba in Europe, and Bagdad in Asia, for a hundred years they acted as one inspired man. *Islam* meant 'submission to God', and those who accepted this creed had above all to submit to the five disciplines of the faith: (1) Belief in the *One* God and Muhammad as His prophet; (2) the duty of praying five times daily; (3) giving alms to the poor; (4) fasting in the whole month of *Ramzan*; and (5) making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The teachings of Muhammad were collected in a volume called the *Koran*. This and the Hadis or 'traditions' constitute the scripture of the Muhammadans. The Prophet during his lifetime was both their spiritual leader and temporal ruler. Hence Islamic society to begin with was a *Theocracy*. Soon after Muhammad's death a dispute arose as to the succession. Some were for the Prophet's son-in-law Ali; others for electing the Caliph. The former, called the *Shiites*, were defeated; and the latter, known as the *Summi*, triumphed. This rent Muslim society for all time into two hostile camps, though there are no fundamental differences of creed between them. Arabia represents the latter, and Persia the former. In India there are representatives of both the sects. For the

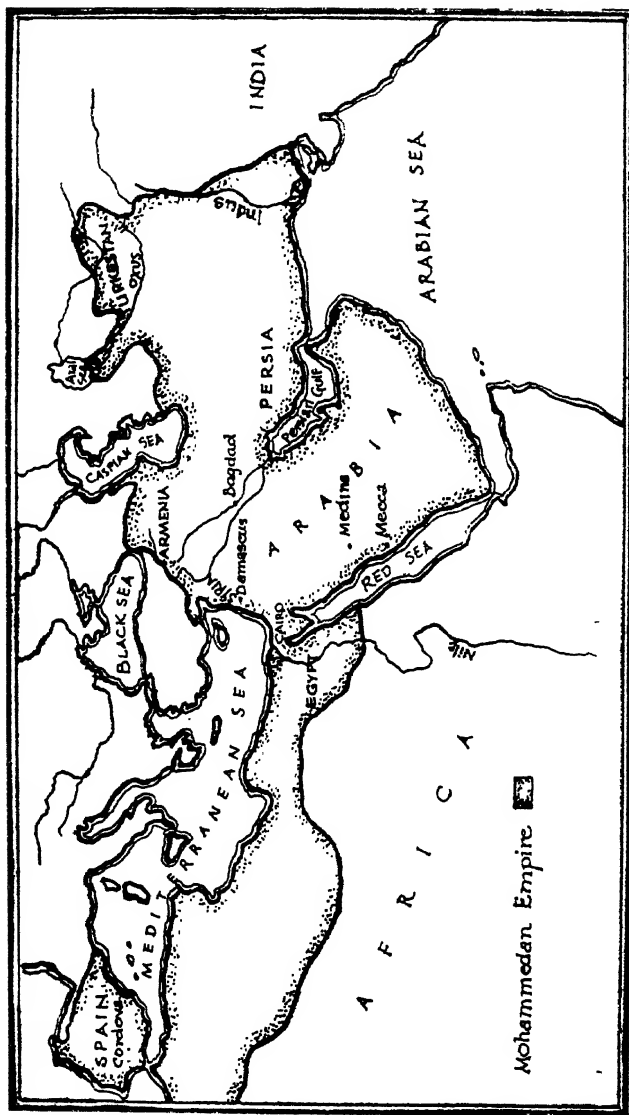
purpose of this history however, we might regard the Muslims as one homogeneous community.

The spirit of Islam in the early days, when the ferocious and fanatical Turks had not yet been converted, is well represented in the following words of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph, cited by Gibbon :

“ In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. This is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.

“ Remember that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression ; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs ; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way : let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries : and you will find another sort of people, that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns : be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedans or pay tribute.”

With the conversion of the Turks and other savage peoples, Islam tended to follow more and more the closing part of this message rather than its nobler portions. The tribute exacted from the infidels was called the *jiziya*. The Jews and the Christians were treated with consideration as ‘ the people of the Book ’ as Muhammad drew much of his own theology from their traditions. “ We believe in God ”, declares the



THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM.

Koran, "and in what hath been sent down to us and what hath been sent down to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between them ; and to Him we are resigned ; and who so desireth any other religion than Islam, it shall by no means be accepted from him, and in the next world he will be among the lost." (iii., 78-79).

The conquests of Islam were very rapid. They extended, in about a century, over the whole of Arabia, Asia-Minor, North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, the Iberian peninsula, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Sind. This was partly due to the innate driving force of the new faith, and partly owing to the weakness of Europe and Persia. The Eastern Roman Empire under Heraclius and Persia under the Sassanian Khosroes II had exhausted each other by incessant war. They could offer no effective resistance against the new force. In the West, however, the Islamic thrust across the Pyrenees into Gaul was checked by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. In the East, already in 717 A.D. they had failed to carry Constantinople by storm, but in 737 at the battle of Kadessia Persia was subjugated. "At the close of the first century of the *Hegira*", Gibbon observes, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." Though we may not enter into the chequered history of the Caliphate we must at least describe here its glory under the most famous of the Caliphs, viz. Haroun-al-Raschid of the *Arabian Nights*, who died in 809 A.D. In this time, according to Sir Mark Sykes,

"The Imperial Court was polished, luxurious, and unlimitedly wealthy ; the capital, Bagdad, was a gigantic mercantile city surrounding a huge administrative fortress, wherein every department of state had a properly regulated and well-ordered public

office ; where schools and colleges abounded ; whither philosophers, students, doctors, poets, and theologians came from all parts of the civilized globe. The provincial capitals were embellished with vast public buildings, and linked together by an effective and rapid service of posts and caravans ; the frontiers were secure and well garrisoned, the army loyal, efficient and brave ; the governors and ministers honest and forbearing. The empire stretched with equal strength and unimpaired control from the Cilician gates to Aden, and from Egypt to Central Asia. Christians, Pagans, Jews, as well as Moslems, were employed in the government service. . . . Traffic and wealth had taken the place of revolution and famine. . . . Pestilence and disease were met by imperial hospitals and government physicians. . . . In government business the rough-and-ready methods of Arabian administration had given place to a complicated system of Divans, initiated partly from the Roman, but chiefly taken from the Persian system of government. Posts, Finance, Privy Seal, Crown Lands, Justice and Military Affairs were each administered by separate bureaux in the hands of ministers and officials ; an army of clerks, scribes, writers and accountants swarmed into these offices and gradually swept the whole power of the government into their own hands by separating the Commander of the Faithful from any direct intercourse with his subjects.

" The Imperial Palace and the entourage were equally based on Roman and Persian precedents. Eunuchs, closely veiled ' harems ' of women, guards, spies, go-betweens, jesters, poets, and dwarfs clustered around the person of the Commander of the Faithful, each, in his degree, endeavouring to gain the royal favour and indirectly distracting the royal mind from affairs of business and state.

" Meanwhile the mercantile trade of the East poured gold into Bagdad, and supplemented the other enormous stream of money derived from the contributions of plunder and loot despatched to the capital by the commanders of the victorious raiding forces which harried Asia Minor, India, and Turkestan. The seemingly unending supply of Turkish slaves and Byzantine specie added to the richness of the revenues of Irak and, combined with the vast commercial traffic of which Bagdad was the centre, produced a large and powerful moneyed class, composed of the sons of generals, officials, landed proprietors, royal favourites, merchants,

and the like who encouraged the arts, literature, philosophy, and poetry as the mood took them, building palaces for themselves, vying with each other in the luxury of their entertainments, suborning poets to sound their praises, dabbling in philosophy, supporting various schools of thought, endowing charities, and, in fact, behaving as the wealthy have always behaved in all ages."¹

The above description indicates a great change in the Arabs brought about by their successes. In the first place, the wild but simple Bedouins of the desert were now pampered with soul-destroying luxury. Secondly, the democratic spirit of the earlier days of Islam had given place to an insupportable autocracy. And thirdly, the Empire of the Crescent having grown to unwieldy proportions split up into several regional and dynastic kingdoms. The last blow to the tottering Caliphate of Bagdad came from the Turko-Mongolian invasions. The glorious capital of the Commander of the Faithful, proudly described by an Arab historian as "the eye of Iraq, the seat of Empire, the centre of beauty, culture and arts," was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. Before that catastrophe Bagdad had been the cultural capital of the Middle East where flocked the great savants of all countries from East and West alike. Not the least important of these were from India, and in the opinion of Mr. E. B. Havell, "It was India, not Greece, that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art, and architecture." Without being so partisan we might believe that the Arabs built up an eclectic civilisation drawing the best from the various parts of their far-flung dominions, and fusing everything in the fire of their new born zeal.

1. Cited by H. G. Wells in *The Outline of History*.

Bagdad, however, was not the only centre of Islamic culture. Cairo and Cordoba were of equal importance. Leaving the story of the further fortunes of Islam in the East to another chapter, we might here say something about Spain where the Arab civilisation outlived the misfortunes of the Abbasids in the East. The Arabs first established themselves in the Iberian peninsula in 711 A.D. Their leader Tariq gave to their landing place its name of *Jabal-ut-Tariq* (Gibraltar) or the Rock of Tariq. Though checked by the Franks in the north, their kingdom in Spain endured for five hundred years till the capture of its capital, Cordoba, in 1236 A.D. by the Christian king of Castile. Even then the Arab kingdom of Granada in the south held out for another two hundred and fifty-six years when it was finally extinguished in 1492 A.D. During all these seven hundred and eighty years, the *Moors*, as the Muslims were called in Spain, organised a wonderful kingdom, "which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learning and civilization bright and shining before the western world."

Cordoba itself in the tenth century is spoken of as "the most civilised city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world." It had seventy libraries and 900 public baths. Whenever the Christian rulers of Leon, Navarre or Barcelona required a surgeon, an architect, a dress-maker, or a singing-master, it was to Cordoba that they applied; while the *Madinatu-l-Zahar*, the summer palace in the vicinity of Cordoba struck the imagination of travellers as if it were the dream palace of the *Arabian Nights*. "It cannot be denied," writes Mr. J. B. Trend, "that while Europe lay for the most part in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilization and an

organized economic life. Muslim Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy, and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante. Then, if ever, Spain was 'the torch of Europe.'"¹

In the field of philosophy alone two names are famous throughout Europe, viz. Avicenna and Averroes. The former whose real name was Abū 'Alī-al-Ḥusayn ibn Sīnā (980-1037 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars of the Islamic world. Though primarily a philosopher he made valuable contributions to medicine and science as well. His *Canon of Medicine* was an encyclopædia dealing with general medicine, simple drugs, diseases affecting all parts of the body, special pathology and pharmacopoeia. It was greatly in demand in its Latin translation down to the seventeenth century. "Probably no medical work ever written has been so much studied," writes Dr. Max Meyerhof, "and it is still in current use in the Orient."² The name of Averroes was Abū 'l-Walīd ibn Rushd (1126-98 A.D.). "Averroism continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science."³

The Golden Age of Islamic science and medicine was from about 900 A.D. to about 1100 A.D. The *al-Hāwī* or 'Comprehensive Book' by Rhazes (c. 865-925 A.D.) may be cited for illustration. It is considered as perhaps the most extensive work ever written by a medical man. For each disease Rhazes first cites all the Greek, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Indian authors, and at the end gives his own opinion and experiences, and he preserves many striking examples of his

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 5

2. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

clinical insight. The following observations by him on small-pox and measles are interesting :—

The outbreak of small-pox is preceded by continuous fever, aching in the back, itching in the nose and shivering during sleep. The main symptoms of its presence are : back-ache with fever, stinging pain in the whole body, congestion of the face, sometimes shrinkage, violent redness of the cheeks and eyes, a sense of pressure in the body, creeping of the flesh, pain in the throat and breast accompanied by difficulty of respiration and coughing, dryness of the mouth, thick salivation, hoarseness of the voice, headache and pressure in the head, excitement, anxiety, nausea and unrest. Excitement, nausea and unrest are more pronounced in measles than in small-pox, while the aching in the back is more severe in small-pox than in measles.¹

The name of al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) is familiar to readers of early Muslim history in India. He came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni. But few, perhaps, realise the nature of his contributions to various branches of knowledge. Familiarly known as 'the master' (*al-ustādh*) he was a physician, astronomer, mathematician, physicist, geographer and historian. In physics his greatest achievement is the nearly exact determination of the specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. But, by far the most important of Muslim scientists of this age was Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen) of Basra (965 A.D.). Though his original work in Arabic, *On Optics*, is lost, it has survived in Latin translation. In it he opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision. He discusses the propagation of light and colours, optic illusions and reflection, with experiments for testing the angles of incidence and reflection. In examining the refraction of light-rays through transparent mediums "he

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, pp. 323-24.

comes very near to the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses, which was made practically in Italy three centuries later, while more than six centuries were to pass before the law of sines was established by Snell and Descartes. Roger Bacon (13th century) and all medieval Western writers on optics—notably the Pole Witelo or Vitellio base their optical works on Alhazen's *Opticae Thesaurus*. His work also influenced Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler.¹

As often we have done in previous chapters we must reluctantly bring this chapter also to a close, with a sense of incompleteness. For a fuller survey of Muslim, particularly Arabic, civilisation we must refer the reader to *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford University Press). In architecture they produced a wonder of the world like the Alhambra in Granada. In the minor arts too they made valuable contributions, too numerous to be described here. "In manufactures," one writer has pointed out, "they surpassed the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing. They had many processes of dressing leather and their work was famous throughout Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers. They fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. They knew how to graft and were able to produce some new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East." They also built hospitals with trained physicians and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

nurses. They produced a number of versatile and profound scholars. They made permanent contributions to European science and vocabularies (e.g. words like *sofa*, *tariff*, *algebra*, etc.). Omar Khayyam who is celebrated as a Persian poet wrote in Arabic a book of the first rank on *Algebra*. Summing up the scientific contributions of the Arabs, Baron Carra de Vaux observes :

“They taught the use of ciphers, although they did not invent them, and thus became the founders of the arithmetic of everyday life ; they made algebra an exact science and developed it considerably and laid the foundation of analytical geometry ; they were indisputably the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry which, properly speaking, did not exist among the Greeks. In astronomy they made a number of valuable observations. They preserved for us in their translations a number of Greek works, the originals of which have been lost . . . for which services we cannot be too grateful to them. Another reason for our interest in Arab science is the influence it has had in the West. The Arabs kept alive the higher intellectual life and the study of science in a period when the Christian West was fighting desperately with barbarism. The zenith of their activity may be placed in the ninth and tenth centuries, but it was continued down to the fifteenth. From the twelfth century every one in the West who had any taste for science, some desire for light, turned to the East or to the Moorish West. At this period the works of Arabs began to be translated as those of the Greeks had previously been by them. The Arabs thus formed a bond of union, a connecting link between ancient culture and modern civilization. When at the Renaissance the spirit of man was once again filled with zeal for knowledge and stimulated by the spark of genius, if it was able to set promptly to work, to produce and invent, it was because the Arabs had preserved and perfected various branches of knowledge, kept the spirit of research alive and eager and maintained it pliant and ready for future discoveries.”

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TOWARDS BETTER ORDER IN EUROPE

Out of the energetic movement of the Frankish Empire Europe emerges in its mediæval shape. Over against the Greek world ruled from Byzantium, and the Saracen world governed from Bagdad and Cordova, is the vast territory of Latin Christianity stretching from the Ebro to the Carpathians acknowledging rule of the Frankish Empire and the Pope of Rome.

—H. A. L. FISHER

The fall of the Roman Empire is characterised by Gibbon as "the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind." We have described earlier how the Dark Age followed or rather synchronised with that catastrophe. Europe took long to recover from the protracted agony of the barbarian invasions. They poured into Europe from the North and the East and seemed to destroy the entire order created by Rome. The division of the Roman Empire was a sign of weakness rather than a measure of administrative convenience. The Western Empire was virtually extinguished, as we have noticed, in 476 A.D., when Odoacer drove away Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Empire survived, at least in outward appearance, for another thousand years (1453) no doubt. But in reality the whole of Europe was sunk in chaos. It was owing to this weakness that Islam in the course of a century, could develop into the mightiest power in the Mediterranean. However,

all this was only a temporary relapse. The effective resistance offered to the Arabs at Tours (732) in the West and at Constantinople (717) in the East indicated the reviving strength of Europe. The two active agents in the recovery of Europe were the barbarians and Christianity. We shall see in the course of this chapter how Europe was moving towards a better order in all phases of her life.

The most successful of the barbarians in the West were the Franks. They dominated the whole of Western and Central Europe from the fifth to the ninth centuries, and were instrumental in bequeathing to Europe traditions of unity and orderly government originally derived from Rome. They occupied the territories now differentiated as Germany, Austria, and France, which at that time formed parts of the common Frankish Empire. Then there was neither French nor German, but only West Frank and East Frank. The greatest of their rulers was the celebrated Charlemagne or Charles the Great (768-814). He deserved the title, as we shall see, more than most others in history. His ideal was not mere conquest, but organisation and enlightenment as well. He was a worthy friend of the great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid about whom we have read already.

We need go no farther back into the history of the Franks than Charles Martel, who drove away the Arabs at the battle of Tours (732), in order to realise the value of the services rendered by them to European civilisation. Some have regretted that the Arabs did not win in that famous engagement. For instance, Professor Robinson says, "had they been permitted to settle in Southern France they might have developed science and art far more rapidly than did the Franks."¹ But the verdict of subsequent history has been

1. J. H. Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 81.

unmistakable. Had the Muslims instead of the Christians (for the Franks had become Christians by then) been victorious at Tours, the character of European civilisation would certainly have been different.

Charles Martel died in 741. He had been virtually ruler over a vast territory, though nominally he was only "Mayor of the Palace" under the effete Merovingian kings. His son and successor Pepin was therefore anointed by Pope Stephen and recognised as king "by the grace of God." This inaugurated the Carolingian dynasty of which Charlemagne was the greatest ruler. In return for the Papal recognition Pepin had been called upon to rescue the States of North Italy from the domination of the Lombards. Their restoration to the sovereignty of the See of St. Peter was the beginning of the "Roman Question,"—one of the naughtiest problems created by the Medieval Ages. Its confirmation was secured when Charles the Great was actually crowned, under very similar circumstances in 800, by Pope Leo III. The Pope had been accused of high crimes, by his domestic enemies, and beaten and imprisoned. Charles who was Leo's most powerful supporter restored and exonerated him. His reward was his coronation as "Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-loving Emperor of the Romans." The legacy of this pompous heritage to Europe was an age-long dispute between Pope and Emperor for hegemony over the faithful. To this aspect of that epoch-making event we shall revert later. Before doing so we must assess the work of Charlemagne himself.

During his long reign Charles had to lead several hard campaigns against the Danes, Saxons, Slavs, Avars, and Lombards. In subduing or breaking them he was creating order out of the chaos of the Dark Ages. But, however

arduous, this was not his greatest or noblest work. In the words of Professor Fisher :

“He was bold yet deliberate, genial and yet exact, popular and yet formidable. A vast appetite for animal enjoyment was combined in him with the cardinal gifts of statesmanship, a spacious vision, strong common sense, a flawless memory, and a tenacious will. It was part of his strength that he attempted nothing impossible, and asked no more of his people than they were able to accomplish. To his Frankish warriors he was the ideal chief, tall and stout, animated and commanding, with flashing blue eyes and aquiline nose, a mighty hunter before the Lord. That he loved the old Frankish songs, used Frankish speech, and affected the traditional costume of his race—the high-laced boots, the cross-gartered scarlet hose, the linen tunic, and square mantle of white or blue—that he was simple in his needs, and sparing in food and drink, were ingratiating features in a rich and wholesome character. Yet in the habits of daily life he was a Frank to the marrow ; in all matters pertaining to culture and religion he was prepared to obey the call and extend the influence of his Roman priests....It is one of the highest titles of Charlemagne to fame that he used his great authority to promote the revival of intellectual life on the illiterate continent of Europe....What is important to notice is the new place which, with the advent of Charles, learning and education are made to take in the life of the court and the country, the concentration of foreign men of learning round the person of the king, the travelling academy or school of the palace which follows him even on his campaigns, the equal terms with which he associates with his scholar friend, his strong insistence on literacy as a qualification for a clerical career and for preferment in the church, the establishment of diocesan and monastic schools, and the encouragement given to the multiplication, correction, and gathering together of books....The earliest copies of twelve of the great Latin classics are due to the scribes of the Carolingian Renaissance.”¹

1. H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, pp. 156-161.

According to another writer, "with Charlemagne the building of the modern world begins." With him the long spell of barbarism and anarchy seemed to have come to a close. His *capitularies* or statutes revealed his masterful administrative abilities, and his personality was powerful enough to regulate the conflicting interests between the religious and secular powers; while the cultural and intellectual interest of Charles indicated a revival, not only of ordered government, but also of civilisation. But his Empire could not escape from the bane of all strong monarchies, viz. weak successors.

We need not study in detail the events that followed. Charlemagne was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, and he by his three sons Lothaire, Charles, and Louis,—but not without a war of succession. At the treaties of Verdun (843) and Mersen (870) the vast dominions of Charlemagne were divided into three kingdoms. Charles got the West-Frankish territories (constituting modern France), and Louis the East-Frankish territories (comprising modern Germany). To Lothaire was left the hinterland which has ever since been the bone of contention between France and Germany. The former was thoroughly Latinised and the latter remained Teutonic. Meanwhile the whole of the Frankish dominions were tending to be more and more disrupted, until a fresh effort was made towards union under the leadership of Otto the Saxon (East Frank or German).

This was the beginning of the famous "Holy Roman Empire" (962). It lasted, in anything like its original idea, only three centuries; but centuries of continual struggle between Pope and Emperor, during the first of which (962-1056) the Emperor prevailed, and during the last two—the period of the Crusades (1056-1254)—the Pope triumphed. After this, though the imperial title was retained by Teuton

monarchs, the Empire in its original form was at an end.

From the point of view of the restoration of order in Europe, which is the only significant viewpoint for us here, the dynastic history of Otto's successors may be very briefly told. The outstanding figures are those of Henry IV (1056-1106) and Frederick Barbarosa (Red Beard, 1152-1190), though the latter belonged to a different family,—the Hohenstaufen. The reigns of both were marked by the titanic struggle with the Popes. Frederick failed where Henry had at least partially succeeded. The two together indicate the trend of medieval European civilisation.

Otto the Great like Charlemagne had received the imperial crown from the Pope (962). But unlike Charles the Great his relations with the head of the Roman Church were fraught with dire consequences. They reached a climax under Henry IV and continued to trouble Europe for several generations. Briefly put, the German monarchs considered themselves thereafter as Roman Emperors no less (or perhaps even more) than German kings. This made them concentrate on dominating over Italy instead of maintaining orderly government in their own country. While such a policy resulted in postponing the day of German unification, it also set to Europe one of its toughest problems. Feudal anarchy throve in Central Europe while the Emperors distracted themselves with futile quarrels with the Popes. The cause of the struggle, though it might appear trivial now, was considered most vital by both parties in those times. In effect it was the question whether the Pope or the Emperor should be regarded as supreme in Christendom. Both were trying to arrogate to themselves the myth of a bygone age, viz. the ideal of Theocracy.

There may be little doubt about the secular sovereignty of the Emperor and the spiritual sovereignty of the

Pope. But unfortunately society, especially in medieval Europe, was incapable of such dichotomy. Each party was desirous of exclusive authority and none prepared to accept a compromise. Indeed, conflict was inevitable owing to overlapping jurisdictions, and an impartial tribunal was lacking. Under the circumstances the logic of Pope Gregory VII seemed arrogant and presumptuous in the eyes of Henry IV and his supporters, and irreproachable in the eyes of the orthodox. 'He explained, kindly but firmly, to William the Conqueror, that the papal and kingly powers are both established by God as the greatest among the authorities of the world, just as the sun and moon are the greatest of the heavenly bodies. But the papal power is obviously superior to the kingly, for it is responsible for it; at the Last Day Gregory would have, he urged, to render an account of the king as one of the flock intrusted to his care.'¹

The difficulty was not one of merely accepting theoretical claims to superiority but of enforcing actual authority in the field of administration. The Church had acquired vast estates through gifts from the faithful, and these were administered by the bishops and other Church dignitaries. Though it was the practice for these officials to be elected, as holders of property it was of utmost interest to the king as to who was elected. There were also a number of bishops and archbishops who were armed noblemen holding lands on feudal terms, and hence subject to their overlord the king. Some priests had become so worldly-minded that they married and got interested in making provision for their families. The practice of "simony" or selling spiritual offices "for a consideration" had also come into vogue.

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

The king therefore naturally thought that the cloak of clericalism could not give immunity from temporal obligations. Nay, in the heat of rivalry, he even claimed appointing authority, from the bishop to the Pope himself. Thus the right of "investiture" became the crux of the quarrel. Were the Church officials to be invested with authority by the Pope or the Emperor? The Pope rebutted the claims of the Emperor by attempting to appoint the person of his own choice to the imperial office. The dispute soon degenerated into a series of unseemly attacks and counter-attacks by both parties. Each tried to win over to itself the allegiance of the adherents of the other party. Gregory declared Henry excommunicated and deposed; Henry got the German clergy to deny the authority of Gregory. Rival Popes and Emperors were sought to be set up. On one occasion Henry in a penitent mood humiliated himself before the Pope at Canossa and admitted himself in the wrong. But the reconciliation was only temporary. Tempers again flared up, and finally Henry besieged Gregory in his very palace, and the greatest of the medieval Popes died with the words "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile" on his lips.

This was only the climax and not the end of the struggle. However, a workable compromise was reached under Henry V (1106-25) and Pope Paschal II. By the Concordat of Worms (1122) the controversy over investitures in Germany was settled. The Emperor renounced his claim to invest the clergy with the religious emblems of the ring and the crosier, and promised not to interfere with Church elections. But the elections were to be held in the Emperor's presence and the bishop or abbot elected was to hold the fiefs and administrative powers under the Emperor, which was symbolised by a touch of the sceptre.

But matters again reached a crisis when Fredrick Barbarosa (1152—90) came to the throne. He was the most famous of the medieval Emperors after Charlemagne. He was ambitious to restore the glory and power of the Roman Empire, and claimed to be the successor of the Cæsars as well as of Charlemagne and Otto the Great. He declared that his office was bestowed upon him by God no less than was the Papal See. This brought him into conflict with the Pope. The old struggle revived. But the flourishing towns of North Italy (about which we shall learn more later) were now on the side of the Church. They hated the German Emperor no less than the Pope did. They formed a powerful union known as the Lombard League to oppose Frederick, and refused to pay taxes to a foreign ruler from across the Alps. At the end of a series of expeditions all that Barbarosa succeeded in achieving was to make the Lombard League merely acknowledge his overlordship, leaving its members free to act as they liked.

As a counterpoise to the defection of the Northern cities, Frederick tried to secure a hold upon South Italy by marrying Constance, the heiress of Naples and Sicily, to his son. But the Pope being the feudal lord of these cities, this introduced a fresh complication into the struggle. Finally, worn out by some forty years of fighting in Germany and Italy, Frederick sought to divert himself by going on a Crusade. This proved his last venture, for he lost his life on his way to the Holy Land.

Meanwhile, his son (who had married the heiress of South Italy) too was carried away by fever, leaving an infant heir to the troublesome inheritance. This was Frederick II (1212—50). Though he developed into a contemptible figure, he possessed marvellous ability and extraordinary energy. "He drew up an elaborate code of laws for his

southern realms and may be said to have founded the first modern well-regulated state, in which the king was indisputably supreme."¹ In his earlier years he was the contemporary of Innocent III, one of the greatest of the Popes. Though he had been brought up under the Muslim Culture of Sicily (the island was under the Saracens from 827—1060) Frederick II had promised Innocent III to go on a Crusade sometime. In the fulfilment of this undertaking Frederick proved eminently successful, for he actually brought the Holy City (Jerusalem) under Christian rule and was himself declared its king. But this was a shortlived triumph. The Popes were not to be appeased. Their rivalries once again revived, and Frederick like Henry IV was excommunicated and deposed. After his death, in 1250, Sicily was lost to the Hohenstaufens. The Pope bestowed the island upon its French conquerors under Charles Anjou, the brother of St. Louis. Thus ended the German attempt to revive the glories of the Roman Empire. Europe, particularly Central Europe, continued to welter in anarchy, though German kings pompously proclaimed themselves Emperors. A confused group of duchies, counties, bishoprics, archbishoprics, abbacies, free towns, and all manner of feudal estates, asserted each its practical independence of the nominal kings. There was to be no imperial way yet out of the chaos of the Middle Ages.

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.



CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE SWAY OF THE CROSS

The imperial government in the West was soon overthrown by the barbarian conquerors, but the Catholic Church converted and ruled these conquerors. When the officers of the Empire deserted their posts, the bishops stayed to meet the oncoming invader. They continued to represent the old civilization and ideas of order.

—J. H. ROBINSON

Throughout the Middle Ages in Europe there was only one unifying force and that was the Roman Catholic Church. It was the one central light which continued to shine brightly through the medieval darkness. It triumphed over all obstacles and became the only refuge of civilisation where everything else seemed to succumb to the barbarians. It survived the shock of the Hunnish invasions from the East as well as the German and other invasions from the North. It outlived the Roman Empire, both Western and Eastern, and became the champion of European society, religion, and culture when they were threatened by the rise of the Islamic power, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. In spite of schisms and defections it has survived to this day as one of the most potent forces coming down to the modern world from the past. Such a tenacious movement in human history deserves to be studied with close attention, though such a study may be beset with some difficulties.

The principal difficulty is, of course, of partisan views. It is not easy to deal with the history of Christianity without knocking against some orthodox or heretical sentiments. However, religious controversy is no part of our scheme, and, as we did with Islam so also here, we shall concern ourselves rather with the positive contributions of the Church as a whole than dabble in doctrinal polemics.

We have already referred to the birth of Christianity and its fortunes under the Roman Empire. From being an obscure and bitterly persecuted Jewish sect, it had come to be a well established, universal, and civilising force in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. The landmarks in its victorious career were the conversion of Constantine among the Roman Emperors, and Clovis among the barbarian monarchs. Already, in 311 A.D., the Emperor Galerius had issued a decree placing Christianity on a basis of legal equality with the Roman faith, but Constantine's personal conversion gave it a new prestige. In this respect the baptism of the West Frankish king Clovis in 496 rendered a similar service to Christianity in Western Europe. As it had happened with many another prince the conversion of Clovis had been preceded by that of his wife. The pagan husband had pledged to Jesus Christ that he would become a faithful Christian if he was victorious over his enemies; and the Cross had triumphed.

By the code of Theodosius, which was completed in 438, the Christian Church had been specially protected. As a mark of respect for the sacred character of the Christian clergy, they were exempted alike from some irksome public duties and taxes to which all other citizens were liable. They were also allowed to receive bequests, which made the Churches rich, and the Emperors themselves provided magnificent buildings for them. But what gave them pres-

tige as well as power was the privilege of trying their own law cases in their own Church courts. In the field of religion this proved a powerful weapon in the hands of the Church, and later gave rise to many abuses and oppressions. In England, for example, even rogues and charlatans sought the protection of the Church and tried to evade the clutches of the public law, in the days of Henry I and Henry II. On the other hand the Church came to exercise the right of trying and punishing "heretics", which gave rise to the hateful persecutions of the Inquisition. "Whoever separates himself from the Church," St. Cyprian had declared as early as the third century,¹ "is separated from the promises of the Church...He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy ; he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the Church."

St. Paul and St. Peter, "the two most glorious apostles," may be considered the founders of the Catholic Church even as Jesus Christ was the founder of the faith. In the estimation of Lord Birkenhead, "Of all men who may claim to have changed the course of the world's history, St. Paul must surely take the first place. He altered the basic ideas of Western civilization : the whole of our history bears the marks of that busy career of impassioned teaching which the Jewish tent-maker undertook after his conversion to faith in Jesus Christ."² About the importance of St. Peter we have the testimony of Christ Himself : "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against

1. He died in 258 A.D.

2. *Turning Points in History*, p. 21.

it. And I will give unto thee Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Peter was the First Pope (Latin, *papa=father*) or Bishop of Rome. Both on this account and because of the prestige that Rome enjoyed throughout Europe as the imperial capital, the See of St. Peter became naturally the Head of the Roman Catholic (Universal) Church. It was for this reason that the Emperor Valentinian III, in 455, officially confirmed the supremacy of the Pope over Christendom. He made the decrees of the Pope binding on all other bishops and required imperial governors to enforce them. When, in 476, Odoacer extinguished the Western Roman Empire, the Pope's prestige was further enhanced. The Church of Rome became the sole bulwark of civilisation against the rising tide of barbarism. 'The Eastern emperor was far away, and his officers, who managed to hold a portion of central Italy around Rome and Ravenna, were glad to accept the aid and counsel of the Pope. In Rome the Pope watched over the elections of the city officials and directed the manner in which the public money should be spent. He had to manage the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which from time to time had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even gave orders to the generals sent against them.'¹

We witnessed in the previous chapter how the Popes had grown powerful enough to crown the Emperors. One of the greatest among them was Gregory VII, the Pope who declared Henry IV excommunicated and deposed. Under his successors the Hohenstaufens were similarly treated.

1. J. H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Indeed with Gregory, as Robinson has put it, we leave behind us the Rome of Cæsar and Trajan and enter upon that of the Popes. In the centuries that followed, the Popes were supreme, though they called themselves merely the servants of the servants of God.

Next to the Popes, who were the head of the official hierarchy of the Catholic Church, there was the unofficial army of monks who greatly influenced the shaping of Christian life in the Middle Ages. On account of their lives being very strictly regulated, they were called the "regulars," and the official clergy were distinguished from them as the "seculars" or persons still connected with the world (*saeculum*). Monasticism was a philosophy which considered the normal life in the world miserable and sinful, and therefore to be redeemed through severe discipline. It was, however, not peculiar to medieval Europe. It corresponds to the Hindu idea of *sannyāsa* and the Buddhist ideal of asceticism which was carried to excess by the Jains in India. It is better, some thought, to undergo voluntarily the maximum of suffering in this world and earn merit in Heaven, rather than sinfully enjoy here and earn the torments of hell later as the wages of sin. Though all may not agree in this, the monasteries, in the Middle Ages, rendered an undoubted service to civilisation. They became the repositories of whatever was worthy of being saved from the wreckage of the past. "It would be difficult," observes Professor Robinson, "to overestimate the influence that the monks and other religious orders exercised for centuries in Europe. The proud annals of the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits contain many a distinguished name. Eminent philosophers, scientists, historians, artists, poets, and statesmen may be found in their ranks. Among those...are 'The Venerable Bede', Boniface, Thomas

Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Fra Angelico, Luther, Erasmus—all these, and many others who have been leaders in various branches of human activity, were, or had been, members of religious orders.”¹ Only a brief account of their way of life may be here given.

Though the movement had begun much earlier, St. Benedict was the first, about 526 A.D., to draw up a regular constitution for his order, which became the model for most others that followed. He had his monastery at Monte Cassino in South Italy :

He founded here his convent and his rule
Of prayer and work, and counted work as prayer ;
The pen became a clarion, and his school
Flamed like beacon in the midnight air.

According to the rules which he framed no one was allowed lightly to take the vows of the Order. One had necessarily to pass through a rigorous *novitiate*. The *abbot* or head of the monastery was to be elected by the *brethren* who were its members. Besides reading and writing—particularly copying old manuscripts—and constant prayers, the monks did all that was necessary for a self-supporting life such as growing their own corn and vegetables, cooking and washing, etc. The three vows which every monk had to take were obedience, poverty, and chastity. But Benedict, like Buddha, recommended moderation in all things. He asked his followers to avoid excessive self-mortification which might destroy their health and come in the way of a truly spiritual life. The importance of the Benedictines may be gauged from the fact that they supplied no less than twenty-four Popes, and forty-six hundred bishops and archbishops. They also produced about six-

1. J. H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

teen thousand writers including among them men of great distinction. In the safe retreats of their monasteries they unostentatiously carried on very useful work but for which many of the most valuable treasures of the ancient world might have been irretrievably lost to us. According to one writer, "the monasteries were the schools, the libraries, the publishing houses, the literary centres, the hospitals, and the workshops of medieval times." They were also the inns and asylums to the weary travellers and the forsaken or care-worn people.

Not the least important work done by the monastic orders was the spreading of the message of Jesus Christ. Gregory the Great had himself been a monk before he became Pope. Then he had been struck by the appearance of a few Angle lads brought to the slave market in Rome. When he became Pope one of the first things he did was to send a mission to England under Augustine, which resulted in the conversion of the English to the Christian faith. Another great example of the missionary work done by the monks is that of St. Boniface, in 718. He was an Englishman and he undertook at great personal risk to convert some of the remotest German tribes. He lived to be the Archbishop of Mainz in 732.

Still another type of monasticism was represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans. The former order was founded by the Italian St. Francis of Assisi, and the latter by the Spanish St. Dominic. The Franciscans laboured to serve 'the poorest, and lowliest, and lost'; while the Dominicans concentrated on fighting heresies. Both produced distinguished scholars like Thomas Aquinas (a Dominican) and Roger Bacon (a Franciscan), and both received official recognition under Innocent III (1198—1216), the Pope who excommunicated and deposed King John of England. The

spirit of the two orders may be represented in terms of the exhortations of their respective founders : "I, little brother Francis," declared the humble saint of Assisi, "desire to follow the life and poverty of Jesus Christ, persevering therein until the end ; and I beg you all and exhort you to persevere always in this most holy life of poverty, and take good care never to depart from it upon the advice and teachings of any one whomsoever." The spirited Dominic declared, "I have exhorted you in vain, with gentleness, preaching, praying, and weeping. But according to the proverb of my country, 'where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail.' We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land...and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless." Francis may very well remind us of our gentle Tukārām, and Dominic of the sturdy Dayānand.

Lastly, we must deal here with the Crusades. The gentleness of Jesus and Francis, indeed, could not prevail against the ruthless enemies of the Cross,—the Turks and Saracens. The menace of the militant Crescent demanded the spirit of Charles Martel, Dominic, and Peter the Hermit.

The Holy Places of Christianity, particularly Jerusalem, had long fallen into the hands of the Muslims. The tolerant Arabs had been succeeded by the bigoted Turks, and pious Christian pilgrims could no more find immunity in the East. Jerusalem was occupied by the Seljuk Turks in 1076, and the effect was soon visible in the disgraceful treatment of the Patriarch of the Holy City. He was dragged through the streets by the hair, beaten and imprisoned, and released only on payment of a heavy ransom. Consequently Christian pilgrims flocked back to Europe spreading in every country harrowing tales of their perse-

cution and misery. Peter the Hermit was the most celebrated among them. In the glowing words of Gibbon, "He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; the Hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and to arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and the pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their Saviour." The Eastward flow of arms that this fervent appeal released from all parts of Europe is known as the Crusades. They continued with varying fortunes until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The history of these Crusades, though interesting in itself as a tale of adventures, must be summarily told here. They started in 1095 with the meeting of the great Council of Clermont under Pope Urban II. "It is the will of God" echoed through the frenzied crowds as they were harangued in the open air, as no building could contain them. The First Crusade was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless were among its leaders. A motley crowd of armed peasants formed the bulk of the "army of God" that relied more on the medieval belief in miracles than in their own power to win. Nevertheless, the miracle, though qualified, did happen, of capturing and losing Antioch on the way and finally reaching Jerusalem. This was due more to the weakness of the enemy than the strength of the Crusaders. Yet, hardly a tenth of the 30,000 that had set out had the satisfaction of walking through the streets of the Holy City (1099). The captured territories were formed into the king-

dom of Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon as its king. This king died in 1101 and the kingdom relapsed into feudal anarchy. The Holy Places had to be consequently defended by bodies of volunteers such as the Orders of the Templars, the Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights.

The Second Crusade was provoked by the massacre of 30,000 Christians at Edessa by the Turks in 1147. It was led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France, and yet it ended in a fiasco. Jerusalem was again captured by the brilliant Saladin in 1187. This called forth "the most famous of the long series of Crusades," for it was led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarosa, Philip II of France, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. Frederick was drowned, Philip and Richard quarrelled on the road to Palestine, and only the last remained till the final stage. Though minor conquests, like the taking of Cyprus and Acre, were effected, even Cœur-de-Lion fell far short of the cultured and brilliant Saladin in leadership.

The Fourth Crusade started in response to the appeal of Pope Innocent II (1202-4). Instead of directly concentrating on their main objective the misguided Crusaders attacked Christian places like Zara and Constantinople on their way. For the time being the so-called Latin Empire was established in the East. But Constantinople was again captured by the Greeks with the assistance of the Genoese, about sixty years later. They held it till 1453.

The remaining Crusades were even more inglorious than those we have already described. The most memorable among them was the Children's Crusade (1212). The failure of many a Crusade was attributed to the sinfulness of the Crusaders. So it was believed that an army of innocents would be certainly invincible: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength." No less

than 20,000 children were mobilised for this infantile movement. But most of them partook of the mercy of God long before they could reach the Holy Land. Others were kidnapped and sold into slavery by unscrupulous Genoese and Venetian merchants. The remaining were sent back to their homes under safe custody by the Pope Innocent III who took pity on them.

The clash of the Cross and the Crescent had been attended with great carnage on both sides. When Jerusalem was first captured by the Crusaders it lasted for a full week, and according to a French eye-witness, "under the portico of the mosque the blood was knee deep and reached the horses' bridles." Yet the direct results of two centuries of constant fighting were not, perhaps, worth more than a single campaign. The importance of the Crusades is, however, to be seen in their indirect but lasting effects. In the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "The Crusades were the military and religious aspect of a general urge towards the East on the part of the reviving energies of Europe. The prize that Europe brought back from the Crusades was not the permanent liberation of the Holy Sepulchre or the potential unity of Christendom, of which the story of the Crusades was one long negation. She brought back instead the finer arts and crafts, luxury, science, and intellectual curiosity—everything that Peter the Hermit would most have despised."

The exact extent of the influence of the contact with the East brought about by the Crusades will ever remain a subject of controversy among scholars. In the following passage the maximum claim is sought to be summarised :—

'In the religious sphere they diminished the prestige of the Papacy, irretrievably affected monasticism, and encouraged the growth of heresy. In the social and economic sphere they led

to a greater equality of classes, the growth of a free peasantry and of guilds of artisans, and the development of trade and industry. In the field of politics they were followed by the rise of the system of Estates, by a growing centralization of government, and by the appearance of written law and a regular judicial administration. In the great world of culture, philosophy developed its greatest thinkers after the Crusades and the connexion with the Arabs which they brought: even mysticism assumed a scientific character: the study of the ancient languages grew in extent and fertility: historiography and geography acquired a new vigour: a vernacular poetry arose: Gothic architecture succeeded: a Romanesque, and a finer taste appeared in sculpture and painting.¹

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 51.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

MEDIEVAL LIFE IN EUROPE

To-day the historian is interested in the social life of the past and not only in the wars and intrigues of princes. —EILEEN POWER

In the two preceding chapters we saw how Europe—particularly Western Europe—was struggling to evolve order out of the chaos brought about by the fall of the Roman Empire. The catastrophe was the outcome of the internal weaknesses and the external attacks of the barbarians. Then an attempt was made to restore the Roman order by the secular agency of the Frankish Charlemagne and the German Otto and his successors who built up the Holy Roman Empire, and the spiritual agency of the Pope. While the success of the former was only temporary and local, the influence of the latter proved more lasting as well as widespread. The struggle for supremacy that ensued between the Empire and the Papacy only served to establish the prestige of the Church in a world left still anarchical by the failure of political authority.

The outstanding features of this period of transition from the ancient to the modern world are summed up in the word "Feudalism." There is greater agreement regarding its characteristic features than its chronological limits. But roughly we might consider the millennium from the fifth century A.D. to the fifteenth century A.D. as comprising the Middle Ages, of which the earlier half consti-

tuted the Dark Age of barbarian invasions and the later half that of medieval feudalism and chivalry. Having described the former already in an earlier chapter, here we must concentrate upon the latter. We may note that feudalism was strongest during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe ; then new forces and tendencies began to manifest themselves. These culminated in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century which ushered in the modern times.

Feudalism was a very complex organisation of society based upon the holding of land-tenures with specified obligations of service. In the words of Bishop Stubbs, "It may be described as a complete organisation of society through the medium of land tenure, in which, from the king down to the lowest land-owner, all are bound together by obligation of service and defence : the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord ; the defence and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one of the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges as well as defends his vassal ; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated by the same conditions. The central authority is a mere shadow of a name."

When the strong arm of the central authority had been palsied by the barbarian invasions at first, and then by the Normans and Danes in the North, the Slavs and Hungarians in the East, and the Saracens and Moors in the South, the spiritual influence of the Church alone was not sufficient to hold Euro-

pean society together. For the protection of life and property as well as the undisturbed conduct of normal social activity it was necessary to improvise a new system. This was secured by the distribution and localisation of all the functions of government, which also necessitated a like distribution of authority. However, it is necessary to point out that this reorganisation of society was spontaneous and natural, and not the result of deliberate planning by any great statesman. It was derived partly from Roman and partly from Teutonic sources.

In the provinces of the Roman Empire agriculture was carried on for centuries by free tenants known as the *coloni*. But during the period of confusion these *coloni* tended to depend more and more upon some strong local landowner, and virtually sold their independence in return for security. Likewise, the Teutonic custom of *Commending* oneself to a mighty chief, served to bring about a social system of dependence and protection. The anarchy during the ninth and tenth centuries was so great that no price was considered too big to pay for security. Indeed, even in insular Britain, the daily prayer happened to be—"from the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

Land, which was the source of all wealth and power in those days, came to be divided and distributed for protection as well as cultivation. In theory it was owned by one supreme overlord, the king; in practice it was divided and subdivided and held by a gradation of landlords and tenants. The terms on which the estates or *fiefs* granted by the lord to the tenant or by the tenant to the sub-tenants (*vassals*), were of service, both military and civil. The *vassal* was to fight for his *lord* in times of war, and to cultivate the land for him in times of peace. The latter included not merely working on one's own farm, but also

compulsory service in the master's *demesne* and other obligations such as *aids*, *relief*, etc. The contributions that the *vassal* was called upon to make towards the expenses of the marriage of the lord's daughter, or the accession to *knighthood* of the lord's son, constituted the "aids"; the fee that was to be paid by a tenant's heir for succession to the *fief* comprised the "relief." Besides these the vassal's holding was liable to *escheat* on failure of heirs or *forfeiture* for disloyal conduct. If the lord was taken captive in war by an enemy his vassals were to pay *ransom* for his release. When so required the tenants with their *retainers* were to render military service being fully equipped at their own cost. In short, the tenant was to be his landlord's *man*: he was to live, work, and die for his master in return for such justice, protection, and privileges as the times and the tenure guaranteed to him.

In the absence of any effective central government, justice was administered by the feudal (from *feud*=*fief*) lord in his manorial court. The *manor* was his estate. On it stood his great castle or fortified residence. The surrounding lands were held by his tenants or subtenants. The former held from him directly; the latter through their intermediate superiors. Below all were the *serfs* and slaves who, indeed, formed the major portion of the population. The serfs were superior to the slaves, and were attached to the soil. They could not be killed or alienated with impunity. Lands were given to them for cultivation on very exacting terms. They could not forsake their farms and run away; but if they did and were not discovered for a year and a day they were free. They were to work on their master's farm for three days in the week throughout the year, except during Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Each serf was to give to his lord, in one typical case, 'one bushel of wheat, eighteen

sheaves of oats, three hens, one cock yearly, and five eggs at Easter.' Conditions varied, for better or for worse, in different places, but serfdom survived in Western Europe until the French Revolution (1789) and further east until more recent times.

In those rough times there was no sovereign law that was universally recognised, except the *canon* law of the Church. In secular matters custom and tradition ruled. Ordeal and battle decided disputes which could not be otherwise settled. The accused person had very often to prove his innocence by tests of fire or water. In the last resort the disputants would be allowed to fight each other according to rules and justice was declared to be on the side of the victor; for it was considered to be the judgment of God.

Knight-errantry was a typical institution of the Middle Ages. It was governed by the highly developed code of chivalry. The free landlords took to it as the most honourable profession. The Crusades afforded a very congenial atmosphere for its development and refinement. Where no other just cause was to be found the knights fought each other for sheer entertainment. Individual jousts and group tournaments were very common in medieval times. They were the survivals of the Greek games and the Roman circuses. But unlike the brutal gladiators the knights mostly combated each other with blunt weapons when it was not a real fight. The barbarians were used to fighting on foot. But the contacts of the Saracens had established the superiority of the horse. The knight was a mounted warrior armed *cap-a-pie*. The term "chivalry" is itself derived from the French word for horse. A vivid portrayal of this medieval atmosphere is to be found in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

The feudal system, though it was the natural outcome of the circumstances obtaining in the Middle Ages and rendered

good service then, was not without its defects. Private warfare was one of its most outstanding evils. This acted as the enemy of all established order. "The man's man was not the lord's man" was the principle which obtained in the continent of Europe. Hence, however powerful a lord might consider himself in theory, he could not in practice depend upon the co-ordinated loyalties of all who shared his lands. Very often the vassals proved stronger than their masters, and well integrated national kingdoms could not arise under such circumstances. To this England was the earliest exception. On account of her geographical isolation she could develop well along her own lines. The Normans under William the Conqueror, profiting by continental experience, tried to counteract the feudal anarchical tendencies by insisting upon all classes of vassals that they could swear allegiance to their immediate superiors only "saving the faith that I owe to our lord the King." Yet the centrifugal forces continued to assert themselves, though with diminishing effect, until the establishment of the strong Tudor monarchy in the fifteenth century. On the continent feudalism was liquefied only gradually. It vanished, however, in the wake of the invention of gun-powder, the growth of commercial towns, and above all of the Renaissance. But it is not to be forgotten that in its own time it had functioned well "as a military measure to organise local defence ; economically, to safeguard cultivation of the soil ; and politically, to provide machinery for local administration of justice."¹ Its moral and cultural influences were also considerable. It gave courage to the barons in 1215 to extort the *Magna Carta* from King John of England, and its traditions of gallantry and romance

1. A. F. Hattersley, *A Short History of Western Civilization*, p. 62.

inspired many a writer and poet to produce gems of romantic literature. It was the age of wandering minstrels and troubadours.

The growth of towns which gave a deathblow to feudalism was the dominating characteristic of the later Middle Ages. While feudalism thrived in the rural parts urban centres developed a different kind of life. Here commerce and industry rather than agriculture were the decisive factors. Guilds and corporations of merchants, and manufacturers not only brought prosperity to the towns, but also imparted to them a spirit of independence. Under their ægis too, as under the fostering industry of the monasteries, culture was preserved and developed.

Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe, like that of India today, was essentially a rural population. But once the barbarians who upset the old order and prosperity settled down and became civilised, towns began to revive. They were a replica of the old Roman towns which had been centres of great activity. In medieval Europe there were three institutions of such civilising importance : they were the monasteries, the feudal manors, and the organised towns. We have said something already about the first two. The last alone will engage our attention here. The monasteries planted often in out-of-the-way places and far off wildernesses acted as farflung outposts of civilisation. The fortified castles and their surrounding self-contained manors served to preserve society from the disrupting forces of anarchy. The towns, which too were fortified in the Middle Ages, were so many islands of peaceful industry in a sea of constant warfare. They were also the arteries through which flowed the commerce of the times. Though they were units linked up as fiefs in the feudal system, they were too powerful to be swallowed up by the encircling forces. They either bought

out or valiantly fought for their liberties and thereby earned an important place among the "estates" of the realm. Their citizens, the burghers or burgesses, were the creators of the commons of modern democracies.

Internally, the towns organised professional guilds, and externally, they formed leagues with other cities for purposes of commerce as well as defence. The craft-guilds were unions of workers which secured monopolies for their special industries, afforded training for their apprentices, laid down conditions for efficiency, and protected their members much as trade-unions do today. There were unions of shoemakers, bakers, weavers, dyers, etc. The most famous of the leagues of commercial towns was the Hanseatic League of North Germany. *Hansa* in old German meant a confederation or union. The Hanseatic League included about eighty of the principal cities of Northern Europe. It established trading colonies of its members in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod. It lost its importance only with the new geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century and the consequent shifting of the highways of world commerce.

The greatest of the cities of Southern Europe were concentrated in Italy. They were Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Venice had her beginning in the fifth century when the refugees from the attacks of Attila the Hun sought shelter among her marshes. In course of time, owing to the natural advantages of her position at the head of the Adriatic, as well as the enterprise of her daring citizens, she became the mistress of the Mediterranean as once Athens, Carthage, and Rome had been. In the immortal words of Byron—

A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
Around me, and a dying Glory smiles
O'er the far times, when many a subject land

Look'd to the winged Lion's marble piles,
Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles !
She looks a sea cybele, fresh from ocean,
Rising with her tiara of proud towers
At airy distance, with majestic motion,
A ruler of the waters and their powers :
And such she was ;—her daughters had their dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
In purple was she robed, and of her feast
Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increased.

In 1177, in recognition of her importance as well as services rendered to the Church, Pope Alexander III bestowed on her Doge a ring and said : " Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This annual " wedding of the Adriatic " continued to be one of the most gorgeous ceremonies of the Middle Ages. Genoa became a rival, particularly after 1261, when she demonstrated her power by assisting the Greeks in the overthrow of the Latins at Constantinople. For a long time their reckless rivalries eclipsed the ascendancy of the two Italian cities, until both were overwhelmed by the triumphs of the Crescent in the East.

Florence, the city of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Lenardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici, was " the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics." Despite the handicaps of her inland situation, Florence still became, " through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art centre of the later medieval centuries...indeed, as respects the number of her

great men, Florence is perhaps unrivalled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens.”¹

Incomplete as this survey of medieval life in Europe must remain (for obvious limitations of space) we cannot conclude the chapter without a few lines on the education and literature of the Middle Ages.² We have already observed how the monasteries kept the torch of learning bright through the Dark Ages, by preserving such of the ancient knowledge as was accessible to them. Much of the Greek wisdom, except that of Aristotle, had been temporarily lost to Western Europe. Even the writings of Aristotle were familiarised through Arabic translations rendered into Latin in the Spanish universities. Thanks to the teachings of Muhammad, the early Muslims had cultivated learning with the same zeal as they felt for their religion. The Prophet had declared, “Acquire knowledge, it will enable you to distinguish right and wrong, it will light the way to heaven, it will be your friend in the desert, your society in solitude, your companion in loneliness, your guide to happiness, the sustainer of your misery, the ornament among your friends, and the armour against your enemies.” Arab scholarship in the universities of Cordoba and Toledo in Spain demonstrated that the Moors had fully imbibed the spirit of this exhortation.

Among the Christian princes we have noted too the services rendered to education by Charlemagne. One writer has justly observed, “Herein he (Charles the Great) takes

1. Myers, *General History*, p. 436.

2. For a fuller treatment of various aspects of medieval life read *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford U. Press), *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilisation* (Harraps), and *Medieval People* by Eileen Power (Pelican Books).

a foremost place among the benefactors of humanity, as a man who, himself imperfectly educated, knew how to value education in others ; as one who, amid the manifold harassing cares of government and of war, could find leisure for that friendly intercourse with learned men which far more than his generous material gifts cheered them on in their arduous and difficult work ; and as the ruler to whom perhaps more than to any other single individual we owe the fact that the precious literary inheritance of Greece and Rome has not been altogether lost to the human race. Every student of the history of the texts of the classical authors knows how many of our best manuscripts date from the ninth century, the result unquestionably of the impulse given by Charles and his learned courtiers to classical studies." The degree of personal attention bestowed upon the education of the young, by Charlemagne, is illustrated by the rebuke he administered to the easy-going lads of a school started under his own patronage : "You young nobles", he said, "you dainty and beautiful youths, who have presumed upon your birth and your possessions to despise mine orders, and have taken no care for my renown ; you have neglected the study of literature, while you have given yourselves over to luxury and idleness, or to games and foolish athletics. By the King of Heaven, I care nothing for your noble birth and your handsome faces, let others prize them as they may. Know this for certain, that unless ye give earnest heed to your studies, and recover the ground lost by your negligence, ye shall never receive any favour at the hand of King Charles."

As the demand for instruction increased with the growth of peace and prosperity the cathedral and monastic schools were found insufficient. Particularly, the merchant and other professional classes were in need of secular education

which the Church schools could not be expected to impart. These needs were met by institutions that soon developed into the famous universities of medieval Europe. The most ancient of these were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine; the University of Bologna, distinguished for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for its doctors in theology. The last supplied the model of constitutions and was hence known in the Middle Ages as "the Mother of Universities." Oxford and Cambridge were also founded in these early times. The principal faculties that were cultivated were the faculty of Theology, the faculty of Medicine, the faculty of Law, and the faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). Grammar, rhetoric, and logic were specially emphasised for their value in scholastic disputations. Besides the Church and the ordinary lay schools, there were also 'Chivalric schools' where sons of noblemen especially were trained in the exercises and code of medieval chivalry.

Peter Abelard (1079—1142), Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and Roger Bacon (d. 1294), were among the outstanding figures of this age. The first was so popular that he attracted over 5000 pupils to his lecture rooms, but possessed a notorious moral character. The second was so admired for his versatile genius that he was called "Albert the Great" and "the Second Aristotle." The third was known as "the Angelic Doctor", and his great work the *Summa Theologia* or "Sum of Theology" to this day provides the foundation for the orthodox Church. The last, called "the Wonderful Doctor", though persecuted for being in league with the devil, was wonderfully ahead of his times in scientific knowledge. He seemed to possess marvellous understanding of mechanics, optics, and chemistry. He knew the composition of gunpowder or some such ex-

plosive, and believed in the possibility of mechanically propelled vehicles, as the following remarkable passage from his writings reveals :—

‘Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man, may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise, cars may be made so that without a draught animal they may be moved...as we deem the scythed chariots to have been from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird.’

Among the writers of the age we have space only for a few observations on the greatest. The most famous among the earliest was St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. His *The City of God* which was written when Rome fell before Alaric the Goth in 410, served as a beacon in the encircling gloom of the Dark Age. “The greatest city of the world has fallen in ruin,” he wrote, “but the city of God abideth for ever.” His more popular work is his *Confessions* “which have a human interest equal to that of the self-revelations of Bunyan and Rousseau,”—and we may add, of Tolstoy and Gandhi also.

Of unknown authorship, but of great medieval interest, is the German epic entitled the *Niblungen Lied* which has been popularised by the music-dramas of Wagner. It is the story of the romantic adventures of its hero Siegfried, son of Siegmund, king of the Netherland. Its stage is the city of Worms which, says Carlyle, “had we a right imagination, ought to be as venerable to us moderns as any Thebes or Troy was to the ancients.”

By far the greatest genius of the age, however, was Dante who was born in Florence in 1265. His love for Beatrice which inspired his *Divine Comedy* is

an epic theme. Dante suffered much owing to his participation in the factions of his city—the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*. The former stood for the Pope and the latter for the Emperor. We have already described the nature of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The Guelphs having triumphed, Dante was banished from Florence in 1302, and he remained in exile until his death in 1321. This called forth from Michael Angelo, another great Florentine of versatile genius, the following sonnet :—

From heaven his spirit came, and, robed in clay,
The realms of justice and of mercy trod,
Then rose a living man to gaze on God,
That he might make the truth as clear as day.
For that pure star, that brightened with his ray
The undeserving nest where I was born,
The whole wide world would be a prize to scorn ;
None but his Maker can due guerdon pay.
I speak of Dante, whose high work remains
Unknown, unhonoured, by that thankless brood
Who only to just men deny their wage.
Were I but he ! Born for like lingering pains,
Against his exile coupled with his good
I'd gladly change the world's best heritage.

But the world has accorded to Dante the justice that Florence denied him : he is one of its greatest immortals. The noble epic comprising three parts—*Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*—is incapable alike of paraphrase and epitome. The poet passing through hell and purgatory into paradise meets with immortals of the classical world, but the crowning glory of reaching Beatrice is his alone. “ Guided by Beatrice the poet passes through nine Heavens, which are moving spheres revolving round our globe, till he reaches the final motionless and fixed Heaven in the Empyrean. The seven lowest of the Heavens are named after the moon,

the sun, and the planets, and the eighth after the fixed stars. All these are visible from earth. Above them is the ninth or crystalline Heaven, which directs by its movements the daily revolution of all the others. In it nature starts ; from it proceed time and motion, together with all celestial influences for the government of the world. It is :

The robe that with its regal folds enwraps
The world and with the nearer breath of God
Doth burn and quiver.

" Above it, climax of the vision, is the infinite and motionless sea of divine love where God makes blessed the saints and angels in the vision of His Essence."¹

Though Dante's imagery and expression are medieval, he belongs to all time. Next to him stands the galaxy of writers like Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Malory. They have all left us familiar pictures of medieval life. We might close this chapter with the portrayal of an ideal knight who was indeed the ideal man of the Middle Ages.

" Ah, Lancelot," says Sir Ector in Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, " thou wert head of all Christian knights, and now I dare say, thou Sir Lancelot, there thou liest, that thou wert never matched of earthly knight's hand. And thou wert the courteoust knight that ever bare shield. And thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrad horse. And thou wert the truest lover of a sinful man that ever loved woman. And thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword. And thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights. And thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies. And thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."

1. John Drinkwater, *The Outline of Literature*, p. 239.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE EAST IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

Everything points to the conclusion that those centuries which were centuries of disaster and retrogression in Europe, were comparatively an age of progress in Middle Asia eastward into China.

—H. G. WELLS

No period in Eastern history has been, perhaps, treated with greater indifference than that of Asia during the Middle Ages. The corresponding age in Europe has been comparatively well studied by scholars. But even in such a brief survey as ours we should not overlook the medieval period as a whole in our continent. Vast as the field may be, we shall find before we close this chapter that our exploration has not been futile. On the contrary we shall have added to our knowledge of human history some connected information about an important, though obscure, period. Chronologically, we shall roughly cover in this chapter the same millennium (500-1500) as we did in the last chapter. Politically, this will include an account of the T'ang (618-907), Sung (960-1280), and Yuan (1280-1368) dynasties (to mention only the most important) in China, the pre-Mughal Muslim and Hindu dynasties of India, and the momentous movements of peoples like the Mongols and Turks.

We have earlier indicated the nature of Han and T'ang rule in the great age of Buddhism in Asia. Though China

made large and valuable contributions to civilisation, her political history, as ever, was very much disturbed. Progress in that vast country has been so often interrupted by war and barbarism that one really wonders how the Chinese could at all produce their rich culture. Under the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 221 A.D.), in addition to China proper, Tong-king and Annam had been reduced to being tributary states. Besides developing excellent pottery, jade, bronze and iron-work, silk brocades and embroideries, etc., the Han emperors had encouraged literature and secured its preservation by getting Confucian classics engraved on stone. The invention of paper in 105 A.D. and the modification of the ancient Chinese characters had made writing an easier art. The invention of the hair-pencil under the Ch'in had also facilitated the practice of that art on silk. Soothill describes this as 'the period of the first great collators, commentators, and historians, and of the fathers of the form of much subsequent poetry.' He also writes; "Whatever may be said of the government, the world-enriching discovery of paper would alone entitle the Han period to be styled glorious."

After this China was partitioned between the three kingdoms of *Wei*, *Wu*, and *Shu*. These kingdoms fought among themselves (221—589) and paved the way for the Tartar invasions. It was the age, as in Europe, of chaos and chivalry. But out of this darkness one figure arises. It is that of a Tartar who, in 397, founded the House of Toba. He organised the civil administration and, by his encouragement of learning, civilised his barbarous people. Though the Tobas at first persecuted the Buddhists, they became its great supporters later, and through them the religion was finally established in China. Its influence may be illustrated by the attitude of the founder of a succeeding dynasty, viz., the Liang dynasty (502—

557). He became a devout Buddhist and is reputed to have built 13,000 temples. He sent for monks from India, and was so strict in following the doctrine of *Ahimsa* that he forbade even the cutting of figures of animals embroidered on cloth. 'He is described as a man of distinguished character and noble presence, a scholar, soldier, statesman, and monk.' Other examples of Buddhist influence have already been cited. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, like Fa Hian and Huen Tsang, came to India, and Indian Buddhist monks, like Bodhidharma and Kumāravijaya, travelled to China. It is reckoned that at the close of this period the Buddhist library in China exceeded that of the Confucian.

The country was reunited into a single empire by the Duke of Sui, the founder of the *Sui* dynasty (589—618). The last ruler of this family was a rather remarkable figure. He was *Yang Ti* (605—17).

"Studious, clever, luxurious, he squandered treasure and life without stint. Immense palaces, huge parks, lakes and islands, trees that must always bloom, naturally or with silken flowers and leaves, thousands of court ladies and their attendants, every conceivable gratification were his delight. He linked his capital with the Yangtze by joining various rivers into a great canal, lining it with stone embankments, and, 30,000 'dragon boats' carried him and his entourage on royal visitations. Whole districts were denuded of birds to supply his followers with gay feathers. He led an army of 305,000 against Korea, of whom only 2,7000 returned."¹

Such a prince was not calculated to keep either his dignity or power for long. His general *Li Yuan* revolted and established a new dynasty. This was the famous T'ang dynasty about which we have already said something in an earlier chapter. T'ai Tsung (627—650) was its greatest

1. Soothill, *A History of China*, p. 27.

ruler. During his time both Christianity and Islam first entered China, the former in 635 and the latter in 628. Unlike European monarchs, T'ai Tsung welcomed both and allowed the new religions to be freely propagated in his dominions. The mosque at Canton, erected by these early visitors to the Far East, is one of the oldest surviving mosques built during the lifetime of the Prophet. The Christians were Nestorians from Syria and Persia. Though the dynasty of T'ai Tsung continued till 907, his successors were decadent rulers. The Turcomans wearing black garments (hence nicknamed "the Crows") were called in to defend them, but turned out to be their enemies. However, the glory of T'ai Tsung's days was never forgotten. The southerners to this day proudly call themselves "Men of T'ang."

There were five shortlived dynasties (mostly Turcoman) ruling from 907 to 960. The *Sung* dynasty arose out of their ashes and revived the glory of Han and T'ang (960--1280). The most notable figure of this period was *Wang An-shih* the "communist minister of *Shên T'sung* (1068--1086). He is described as a very clever man who "wore dirty clothes and did not even wash his face." But as a reformer far in advance of his times he distinguished himself even like Wang Mang before him. He created a Board of Statistics, attempted nationalisation of commerce, issued loans to needy farmers, introduced conscription, and levied an income-tax. When famine was declared to be the indication of the wrath of God, Wang said, "Not at all; natural phenomena are the result of natural laws and have no relation to moral action." The collapse of the Sung dynasty, like that of many of its predecessors, was brought about partly by inner decadence, and outer attacks by the barbarian Mongols. Though it endured for a long time it was renowned less for its emperors than for its statesmen

and soldiers, less for its successes against external foes (the Tartars) than for its scholars. Yet the legacy of culture that they left served to enhance the value of China's permanent contributions to civilisation. Summing up the Sung services to culture Soothill has observed :

“ These have left behind a legacy of literature that will be treasured for all time. The names of historians, philosophers, commentators, essayists, poets are writ high on the scroll of their country. Though books were first printed immediately before the foundation of this dynasty, it was during its existence, and notably south of the Yangtze, that the great writers existed and their books were published. Education was fostered and academies for students encouraged. The growing artistic taste still further stimulated the skill of workers in gold, silver, and the metals, in wood, textiles, and other materials. The manufacture of porcelain underwent a notable development. Pictorial art reached its zenith as also did the art of writing, engraving, and printing Chinese characters. The constant demands of war produced improved weapons and armour ; the *ballista* for throwing stones was introduced, and fire-arms and cannons came into use in the twelfth century ; ship-building for river and seafaring purposes also received an impetus, consequent chiefly on the requirements of naval warfare and transport.”

It was Marco Polo, a thirteenth century Venetian traveller (1260—95), who first roused European interest in China and the East generally. He travelled in China, stayed at the court of Kublai Khan, visited Sumatra, South India, and several other countries besides. Though he circulated some fantastic stories about the Orient, particularly the countries he had not personally seen, he also conveyed much useful information to the Europeans, which had far-

reaching effects. With him may be said to begin the impulse which culminated in the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

China was ruled by the famous Kublai Khan, a descendant of the still more famous Chengiz Khan, when Marco Polo visited. The former who founded the Yuan dynasty in China reigned over only a portion of the vast empire created by the latter. Chengiz Khan, the leader of the Mongol hordes, was the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen. His dominions extended from the Western shores of the Pacific Ocean to Eastern Europe, and included China, Mongolia, Turkestan, Persia, Afghanistan, North-West India, Asia-Minor, and Eastern Europe. His army, in spite of its great size, was well organised and was provided with fire-arms which were first invented in China. Chengiz was born in the steppes of Mongolia in 1155. He was a Mongol *Bagatur* (Bahadur) or nobleman (literally, 'hero') and was elected leader of all the tribes only when he was fifty-one years of age.

'And so, when all the generations living in felt tents became united under a single authority, in the year of the Leopard, they assembled near the sources of the Onon, and raising the White Banner on Nine Legs, they conferred on Chengiz the title of Kagan.'

He commenced his great march in 1219 and died in 1227 at the age of seventy-two. But these nine years were not only the most momentous in his own career, but also some of the most memorable in the history of the world. Though, like Attila, he is regarded as a 'Scourge of God'—for he moved like a tempest and demolished kingdoms and empires, massacring millions and piling up mountains of skulls—he yet rendered a valuable service to civilisation: The Mongols poured fresh and vigorous blood into the de-

cadent limbs of humanity, and what is more they opened up Asia as well as Europe for mutual intercourse. They not only moved armies from Asia to Europe, but also established lines of civil contacts between the two continents. The travels of Marco Polo were only one indication of this.

Chengiz Khan was succeeded by his son, Oghotai, who was more humane than his father. "Our Kagan Chengiz", he declared, "built up our imperial house with great labour; now it is time to give the peoples peace and prosperity, and to alleviate their burdens." Yet under him the Mongol conquests in Europe were further extended. His general Sabutai subdued Russia, Poland, and Hungary. But after the death of Oghotai disruption commenced. Mangu became the Great Khan in 1252. He appointed Kublai Khan to the government of China. Mangu had his capital at Karakorum and Kublai built for himself a new one at Peking. The Western Mongols became Muslims and the Eastern Buddhists; those in Russia, Poland, and Hungary obviously adopted Christianity as their religion. Mangu's successor, Hulagu, destroyed Bagdad and ended the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. This may be considered as also the end of the Arab civilisation and the beginning of the more destructive era of the Turks who were indistinguishable from the Mongols.

Meanwhile in China Kublai Khan, as previously stated, founded the Yuan dynasty. He also added Tongking, Annam, and even part of Burma to his dominions. His attempt to conquer Japan and Malaysia, however, proved futile as the Mongols had no navy equal to the task. After Kublai's death, in 1292 the Empire of the Mongols split up into independent kingdoms like (1) the Yuan dominions of China, (2) the Golden Horde of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, (3) the Ilkhan territory of Hulagu, including

Turkestan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and (4) the Mongolian empire of Siberia. The Turkish empire of Timur or Tamerlane (1369—1405) was built out of these elements.

Timur brought half of Asia under his sway. He conquered all lands from the Great Wall of China to Moscow, and, as we know, overrun the Punjab as well. By this time the Turks and Mongols of the North-West had not only turned Muslims, but become its fanatical protagonists. "My object in the invasion of Hindustan," Timur declared, "is to lead a campaign against the infidels, to convert them to the True Faith according to the command of the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!), to purify the land from the defilement of misbelief and polytheism, and overthrow the temples and idols, whereby we shall be *Ghāzis* and *Mujahids*, champions and soldiers of the Faith before God." But this was merely a pretext, because Timur fought and overthrew Muslims as well. He invaded India in 1398, defeated the Sultan of Turkey in a terrible engagement at Angora in 1402, received the submission of the Sultan of Egypt, and suddenly died in 1405.

The Ottoman or Osmanli Turks had established themselves in Asia-Minor about 1300. Under Bajazet they had advanced into South-Eastern Europe and overthrown the Christian armies at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1396. The advent of Timur had temporarily checked this Turkish advance into Europe. But under Muhammad II (the Great) the Turkish conquests were renewed with vigour. Constantinople fell before his irresistible attacks, in 1453, and the Muslims established themselves in the Balkan peninsula with momentous results in European history. Under Suleiman the Great (called by Turkish historians the 'Lord of his Age') the Ottoman power was raised to its zenith (1520—1566). He advanced into Central Europe and in-

vested Vienna, the capital of Austria. Though he did not succeed in capturing it, he conquered Hungary and the island of Cyprus from the Christians. Suleiman's empire extended from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean along North Africa. It included Asia-Minor, Egypt, the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Balkan peninsula, and Hungary. The decline followed only after the death of Suleiman the Great. "Compared with other European states of that time, the Ottoman empire was well governed and prosperous ; trade, learning, and literature flourished ; historical writing attained high excellence."¹

In India the period of history traced above covers the centuries from the death of Harsha (647) to the establishment of the Mughal Empire by Babur (1526). They were centuries of neither less interest nor of less consequence to World History. We must therefore make here at least a brief survey of happenings in India.

Muhammad the Prophet of Islam was a contemporary of Śri Harsha of Kanauj. We have witnessed in the earlier chapters the remarkable rapidity with which Islam spread over the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Arabs were no strangers to India, and after their conversion to Islam they conquered Sind at the same time (712) as they conquered Spain. The circumstances under which this happened are familiar to readers of Indian history. India was not politically united ; even socially she needed rejuvenation. Hence, in the words of E. B. Havell, it appeared as if "the sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches and cut back the unfruitful growth of the Tree of

1. Renouf, *Outlines of General History*, p. 234.

Knowledge He had planted in Āryāvarta." Obviously, it was the period of Hindu decadence, and new vitality was imparted by the violent impact of a new civilisation; for Islam was nothing less than that.

'India up to that date, or to about the close of that century, was characteristically and exclusively *Hindu*, using this term in its most comprehensive sense. Whatever changes took place up to that age were changes in *Hindu* India, which remained *Hindu*, enfolding in its broad bosom such divergent racial elements as Aryan and Dravidian, Scythian and Mongolian, and religious differentiations such as Brahmanism, Animism, Jainism, and Buddhism.' But 'Hinduism found in Islam a strange bed-fellow, with a character almost sturdier than its own. The capacity of Hindu society for assimilation of peoples and cultures unlike its own, before the advent of the Muhammadans, seemed to be infinite. But the Crescent for the first time revealed its limitations. Indeed, for well nigh a millennium, Hindu society threatened to go under. Islam was in the ascendant from the advent of the Arabs in Sind (712 A.D.) to the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire at the death of Aurangazeb (1707 A.D.). Until after the final discomfiture of Alamgīr it was not certain that India was not to be *Dar-ul-Islam*. But the Medieval Age in India closed with the certainty that this ancient land was to belong equally to both peoples and faiths, Muslim no less than Hindu. On what terms has not been settled yet.

'The impact of these two cultures has created Modern India and its problems. The aggressive European never fully triumphed over purely Islamic countries. No one entirely succeeded in submerging India so long as she remained exclusively Hindu. It will not be unwarrantable, therefore, to attribute the subjection of India to her loss of

homogeneity. The prime factor in our altered national composition has been the almost unassimilable racial and religious element introduced by Islam. The history of this impact is to us, therefore, of more than mere scholastic interest...

‘Except in India, wherever Muhammadans succeeded in establishing themselves, they transformed society and culture beyond recognition. Islam simply came, saw, and conquered. Hindu India was both weak, divided and decadent. And yet, after centuries of continuous fighting, India could not be equally submerged. Paradoxical as it might seem, therefore, India on the eve of the Muslim invasions was both weak and unconquerable. She was politically most vulnerable, but culturally all but impregnable.’¹

The first Muslim conqueror of India was Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad (ibn Kāsim). He was an Arab and was acting as the agent of the governor of Irāk who was himself under the Caliph of Bagdad. He subdued Sind in 712 A.D. and the Arabs continued to hold it for a little over a century and a half (to 871 A.D.) But impermanent as this conquest proved, so far as the Arabs were concerned, Sind has remained ever since a predominantly Muslim province. The next Muhammadan invader was the Turkish Mahmud of Ghazni who raided India seventeen times (1001—25), despoiled the great Hindu temples of Nagarkot, Thānesar, Mathura, Brindāvan, Kanouj, and Somnath, and earned for himself the title of Idol-breaker :

The mighty Mahmud, the Victorious Lord,
That all the misbelieving and black Horde
Of Fears and Sorrows that infest the soul
Scatters and slays with his enchanted Sword.

1. S. R. Sharma, *The Crescent in India*, pp. 1-2.

Mahmud is also remembered for his association with the great scholar Al-Biruni and the great Persian poet Firdausi. The former was learned in 'astronomy, mathematics, chronology, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry, and minerology', and his great work on India is described as 'a magic island of quiet impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples.' Firdausi was the author of the greatest of Persian epics, the *Shah-namah*.

We have not the space here to recount, except very briefly, the rest of Muslim history in India, nor is more necessary for our purposes. Another Muhammad followed. He defeated and killed the famous Prithvi Raj Chauhan, and also paved the way for the foundation of the Slave 'dynasty.' The greatest of these were Iltutmish and Balban and a queen (rare in Muslim history), Razia. Then came the Khaljis of whom the most notable was Allauddin (1296—1316). Under him Muslim arms reached the farthest corners of India. Though extremely tyrannical, he was also a reformer. He tried to control the markets and prices as well as the consumption of liquor. The next dynasty was that of the Tughlaks of whom the remarkable and quixotic Muhammad (1325—51) is well known for his currency experiments and changing his capital from Delhi to Deogiri with disastrous consequences. "He was perfect in the humanities of his day," writes a historian, "a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher, trained in logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and a lover of science." At the same time, according to the contemporary witness Ibn Battuta,

'This king of all men is the one who most loves to dispense gifts and to shed blood. His gateway is never free from a beggar

whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain. Tales are spread abroad among the people of his generosity and courage, as of his bloodshed and vindictiveness towards offenders. With all this he is the humblest of men and the most eager to show justice and truth. The rites of religion find full observance with him, and he is strict in the matter of prayer and in punishing its neglect. But what is pre-eminent in him is his generosity...when there was such famine in India that a maund of corn cost six *dinars* [3 *guineas*], he ordered six months' food to be distributed to all the inhabitants of Delhi from the crown stores. Each person, great or small, free or slave, was to have a pound and a half Morocco weight (about 2 lbs.) a day.'

The combination of bounty and cruelty indicated here was more or less typical of the Muslim Sultans. Except in rare cases, as with Zain-ul-Abideen of Kashmir (1417—67), the Hindus were invidiously treated. They had to pay the *jiziya* or poll-tax and were not allowed to practise their religion freely and openly. But the tendency on the whole was to soften the edge of difference between the conquerors and the conquered. Culturally, the two communities after centuries of conflict learnt much from each other. Hindu converts to Islam inevitably tended to modify its practice, if not its faith also. While the appearance of reforming saints like Nanak (1469—1539) and Kabir (1440—1518) served to purge Hinduism of its idolatry and exclusiveness. The spirit of compromise is well reflected in the following lines from Kabir :—

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong?

If Rām be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without?

Hari is in the East ; Allah is in the West. Look within your own heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rām.

All the men and women of the world are His living forms.

Kabir is the child of Allah and Rām ; He is my guru ; He is my pīr.

Vain too are the distinctions of caste.

All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light.

All varieties in human nature are but fragments of Humanity.

The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brāhmanas, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

Hindu India on the eve of the Muslim invasions had been a congeries of warring states, like the Paramars of Malwa, the Pratiharas of Kanauj, the Palas of Bengal, the Solankis of Gujarat, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas of South India, etc. Though we have necessarily to skip over these and many others, we may note a few salient facts about them. North India under the Pratiharas (c 700—1000 A.D.) and South India under the Cholas (c. 900—1100 A.D.) were about the only two Hindu powers that came very near to achieving anything like imperial unity. But even this was of an accidental and precarious nature being dependent upon personalities like Mihira Bhoja, Nāgabhatta, Rājārāja, and Rājendra. However, within their limited spheres, each kingdom maintained peace, fostered literature and industry, and practised religious toleration of a unique character. Jains, Buddhists, Brāhmanical and other Hindus lived for the most part amicably with one another irrespective of the faith of the rulers. The prosperity was so great at one time that it stimulated enterprise and carried both Hindus and Buddhists into distant lands like Burma, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. There a Greater India was created as we have noticed before. Pagan, Pegu, Cambodia, Srivijaya, Angkor, and Majapahit proclaimed to the world the glories of colonial India. The last named of these kingdoms was extinguished only as late as the close of the fifteenth century. Then it was swallowed up by the growing Muslim state of Malacca. But in their heyday the Hindus of Greater India

had successfully resisted the incursions of the Mongols under Kublai Khan. They had also carried on great building activities (e.g. Borobudur and Angkor Vat) and trade with India, China, the Philippine Islands, etc. At home also medieval Hinduism expressed itself luxuriantly in temple architecture. 'The Mārtāṇḍ Sun temple of Kashmir, the Khajurāho Vishnu temple of Central India, the rich Jaina temples of Mt. Abu, and the famous Saiva and Vaishnava temples of South India, particularly those built by the Cholas of Tanjore, the Pandyas of Madura, and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra (Halēbīd and Belūr in Mysore), may be cited as examples. Mahmūd of Ghazni who destroyed the glorious temple of Somnath was struck with a sense of beauty by the shrines of Mathura and Kanouj though his zeal for Islam did not permit his sparing them through admiration. The Kailāsa temple of Ellura, excavated under Krishna I Rāshtrakūta, still evokes the admiration of the world. Princes and peasants had lavished their best gifts on these creations for generations before their fatal endowments attracted the heavy hammers of the greedy iconoclasts. Little did pious and self-complacent India of a thousand years ago dream that its princes and gods would alike prove impotent against a race of more realistic foreigners.' ¹

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE AGE OF EXPANSION

In the fifteenth century the great inventions, the geographical discoveries, the extension of commerce, the growth of capital, the rise of the middle class, the revival of learning, the growth of great dynastic states, destroyed the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience.

—W. G. SUMNER

The period of transition from the Medieval to the Modern times is often referred to by historians as the *Renaissance* or *Renascence*. But this term, which signifies "re-birth", is rather misleading and inadequate to convey to us a full impression of the many-sided changes that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in Western Europe. It may be more truly described as the Age of Expansion, geographical, commercial, social, intellectual, artistic, and moral. It was not so much or merely a *re-birth* of learning which is usually implied, but an all-round awakening and broadening of the human horizons. The Europeans, who were destined to revolutionise the whole world, felt during these centuries a fresh impulse of life which set their feet on new ground that bore ere long a harvest of unexpected fruit. If the world in which we live to-day is very different from what it was during the ages described in the preceding chapters of this book, it is largely because of what happened in this Age of Expansion. Here

it is well to recapitulate some of the outstanding tendencies of the Medieval times which already indicated the transformation that was to follow.

We cannot too often emphasise the continuity of human life and civilisation. There are no chasms in human progress. It is one long march from the primitive to the modern culture. The *past* never completely dies; it grows through the *present* into the *future*. The process may be sometimes slow, sometimes even disturbed, but never suspended. Likewise its pace is on occasions considerably quickened, as during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hence what appears to be a revival is not exactly a re-birth. There was in the New Age much that was old, but not necessarily like the reprint of an old edition of a book. Rather, it was the promise of childhood being fulfilled in maturity. We have witnessed how the legacies of Egypt and the Orient supplied the foundations of Greek civilisation and the Greeks inspired the Romans to enrich their own with the peculiar creations of the Hellenic genius. Similarly the Medieval civilisation rested upon the relics of the Roman Empire and culture. The barbarians who appeared to overthrow these in the Dark Ages did not really destroy everything. They only cut down the tares and weeds and stimulated a fresh growth. For instance, under the ægis of the Church and monasteries Latin continued to be universally studied and Roman Law survived the fall of the Empire which had promulgated it. Medieval European society was a compound of Latin and Teutonic elements.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century and its westward movement introduced another new element into European civilisation. Though the Moors and Saracens were regarded as the enemies of Christendom they proved to be the saviours and preservers of the Græco-Roman culture.

Aristotle, for instance, who was the most widely read ancient writer in the medieval world, was available for long only in Latin translations derived, not from the original Greek, but from Arabic. The Moorish universities of Cordoba and Toledo became the sources of inspiration to the Christian universities of later times. When these centres of learning and cultural influence were extinguished in the West, the Crusades kept up the contact with the East. While the Europeans hated the Muslims, particularly Turks, they profited both from their culture and trade. Indeed, they valued these so much that when their highways of commerce with the East were blocked by the Turks, the Europeans desperately sought other channels of communication with the Orient. Like a pent up stream bursting over a dam Europe, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, was bubbling with an overabundance of energy that was to find expression in a variety of forms which we shall study in the course of this chapter. The most remarkable outward feature of this energy was the spirit of adventure and geographical exploration.

Before Marco Polo (1260-95) advertised the Orient among the Europeans their knowledge of the outside world was very limited. Indeed, that was the case with most people in times when the means of communication were very difficult, both by land and sea. Moreover, the needs of all people were so few and simple that they rarely felt the necessity of looking far around. Even if any desired to travel widely such roads as existed were so beset with dangers that few would take the risk. Wars were frequent, robbers were rampant on land routes and pirates infested the seas. Yet, thanks to the enterprising spirit of traders, and the intercourse stimulated by the Mongolian invasions and the Crusades, even in the Middle Ages there existed a

flourishing commerce between Europe and Asia. But the principal carriers of this trade were the Muslims and the routes lay through Muslim countries. When the hostile Turks prevented the Europeans from using these ancient routes, fresh ways had to be discovered. "The needs of commerce," as Professor Webster has observed, "largely account for early exploring voyages. Eastern spices—cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger—were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt meat during the winter and salt fish during lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums, dyes, and fragrant woods came from the East."

The pioneers of enterprise in the discovery of the new routes to the East were the Portuguese and the Spaniards. For want of space we have to be content here with a bare summary of the most important facts connected with them. The Chinese had long ago discovered the use of the magnetised needle to determine the directions on uncharted seas. But for the resulting mariner's compass, geographical exploration on a vast scale, such as that of the fifteenth and the following centuries, would have been difficult. Another helpful factor was the increasing acceptance of the hypothesis about the sphericity of the earth, believed in since the days of Ptolemy, which suggested the possibility of circumnavigation. Under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator (Dom Henriques) of Portugal, a beginning was made in the exploration of the west coast of Africa southwards. It culminated in the discovery of the Cape route to India. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa in 1487 and significantly christened it the Cape of Good Hope. Before ten years had elapsed after this, Vasco da Gama started on his famous voyage which brought him to

Calicut in 1498. When he returned to Lisbon he carried with him a cargo worth sixty times the cost of his expedition, and was rewarded by the King of Portugal with the title of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and India'. Java and the Moluccas were reached by the Portuguese in 1512.

But the most surprising discovery of the age, however, was that of America by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci after whom the continent has taken its name. The former, a Genoese adventurer, reached the West Indies in 1492, starting on a voyage intended to reach the East by the shortest route! The globe prepared by the German geographer, Martin Behaim, in 1490, had shown Cipango (Japan) just where Columbus landed, little suspecting the intruding obstacle of America. Amerigo sailed after 1497, but was lucky enough to have his name immortalised by a German map-maker. Columbus made four voyages in all (1492, 1493, 1498, and 1503) to the 'Indies' only to die in Spain a discredited, dishonoured, and disappointed man.

These western discoveries were made under Spanish auspices. Christopher Columbus was patronised by Queen Isabella of Castile. Balboa beheld the Pacific Ocean across Panama in 1513, and the Portuguese Magellan, in the service of Spain, passed into the Pacific (so called by Magellan on account of its calm in contrast to the Atlantic) through the Strait named after him, in 1519, and reached the Philippine Islands where unfortunately he was killed. But three years after the expedition had started, only one (*Victoria*) out of the five ships that had set out under Magellan, reached Seville harbour, returning *via* the Cape of Good Hope. This is the first recorded circumnavigation of the earth. Others followed in the wake of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, but we have no space to describe them. The

pioneers claimed a monopoly of exploitation of the new lands discovered by them, the reactions of which we shall describe in a later chapter. A Papal Bull confirmed their respective claims in 1493 : an imaginary line was drawn by Pope Alexander VI through the Atlantic, 300 miles west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, the East being the share of the Portuguese and the West of the Spaniards. The Demarcation Line was shifted in 1494, 800 miles farther to the west, so that, in 1500, when Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese it was found to lie within their purview.

Here we must digress a little to note the conditions of civilisation in the new continent. Mexico and Peru were conquered respectively by Cortez and Pizarro in 1519-21 and 1531-32. They were both adventurers who were prone to practise every type of villainy, "ignorant, fanatical, lustful of blood and gold," as Professor Hearnshaw has described them. Mexico and Peru were both seats of an ancient civilisation "which seems to have had many affinities with the so-called 'heliolithic' civilisation which prevailed in the Mediterranean world some thousand years B.C." The opportunity, writes Professor Hearnshaw, was unique to gain an insight into ideas and institutions widely divergent from those of Christendom, but it was forever lost ; for the savage invaders thought only to plunder, slay and destroy.¹ One incident may be cited for illustration. Through treachery Pizarro made Atahualpa, the Inca leader, captive, and demanded for his ransom a room full of gold 'as high as he could reach.' The demand was fulfilled, but not the promise. Pizarro took both Atahualpa's gold and life. The Incas of Peru were far advanced in civilisation. The great cities of their empire were filled with splendid palaces and

1. *A First Book of World History*, p. 149.

temples, and throughout their country there were magnificent works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, and aqueducts. Their government was a mild paternal autocracy. Their Spanish conquerors robbed and reduced them to abject slavery when they were not ruthlessly exterminated to make room for Negro slaves imported from Africa.¹

From this tale of discovery and conquest we shall now turn to the more interesting intellectual developments of the age. "The widening of the physical horizon," as one writer has observed, "brought a corresponding extension of the intellectual horizon." The initial impulse for it likewise came from the East. The Turkish occupation of South-Eastern Europe had driven the Greeks westwards to 'Magna-Graecia' or South Italy. The fall of Constantinople brought in its train a large band of Greek refugees to Rome and the other Italian cities. Among these were not a few scholars who brought with them many valuable manuscripts of the Greek classics. This naturally evoked interest in the ancient Hellenic literature and culture among the Italians. That interest soon developed into a wider movement known as *Humanism*. It was so described because throughout the Middle Ages the best of the intellectuals had concentrated their energies on theological studies, whereas the new learning was centred round subjects of "human" interest. From this point of view Dante's *Divina Commedia* (noticed earlier), though it has been called the "Epic of Medievalism" was also a forerunner of the new movement in literature. Petrarch (1304-74) was even a greater representative of this humanism. In fact he is considered the greatest of humanists.

1. Read "The Lost Treasures of Mexico and Peru" and "South America's Marvels in Masonry" in *Wonders of the Past*, I pp. 411-12 and 585-99.

"To understand Petrarch is to understand the Renaissance. He was the first scholar of the medieval time who fully realized and appreciated the supreme excellence and beauty of the classical literature and its value as a means of culture. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers was a sort of worship."¹ His most distinguished disciple was Boccaccio (1313-75), the inspirer of Chaucer in England. Among the most prominent promoters of the New Learning were the famous Medici (Cosimo and Lorenzo) of Florence, and the Popes, Nicholas V (1447-55), Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (1513-21). Under the latter Rome became a brilliant centre of Renaissance art and learning. When Constantinople fell, they said, "Greece has not fallen, she has migrated to Italy." The enthusiasm for culture and learning shown by the scholars of the Renaissance, the wonderful experience and achievements of the discoverers, and, finally, the intellectual freedom gained in the reformation struggle (Professors Keatinge and Frazer have observed), resulted in such an outburst of genius in the sixteenth century as the history of the world has rarely equalled. Every country of Europe made some contribution to the glorious output. Science and literature alike yielded master creations of the human mind.²

We have already mentioned some of the forerunners of this great awakening: Albertus Magnus (1206-80), Thomas Aquinas (1226-74), and Roger Bacon (1214-94). The spirit and outlook of the age are well reflected in the following passage from the last named scholar's *Opus Maius*:

There are two modes in which we acquire knowledge, *argument* and *experiment*. Argument shuts up the question, and makes us shut it up too, but it gives no proof, nor does it re-

1. Myers, *General History*, p. 477.

2. *Introduction to World History*, p. 227.

move doubt and cause the mind to rest in the conscious possession of truth, unless the truth is discovered by way of experience, e.g., if any man who had seen fire were to prove by satisfactory argument that fire burns and destroys things, the hearer's mind would not rest satisfied, nor would it avoid fire; until by putting his hand or some combustible thing into it, he proved by actual experiment what the argument laid down; but after the experiment had been made, his mind receives certainty, and rests in the possession of truth which could not be given by argument, but only by experience.

Roger Bacon, as Westaway says, stands out for all time as the successful *pioneer of experimental investigation*. In the succeeding centuries (1301-1600) there were creative geniuses in every walk of life. The spirit of Roger Bacon and Columbus was abroad, and the enlightenment of Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch (1304-74) appeared to inspire everybody. The versatility of Michael Angelo (1475-1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is admired even to-day. Copernicus the Pole (1473-1543), Tycho Brahe the Dane (1546-1601), Kepler the German (1571-1630), and Galileo the Italian (1564-1642),—all astronomers of the greatest repute, extended the vision of humanity to worlds beyond the terrestrial. The invention or introduction of printing with moveable types (first used by the Chinese) had even more momentous consequences than that of the mariner's compass. Professor Will Durant has rightly described this as the greatest invention, after writing, in the history of our race.¹ The pioneers in Europe in this direction were Guttenberg (Germany) and Caxton (England). The Chinese had discovered the art of manufacturing paper out of silk; the Arabs and Europeans substituted linen for this. The simultaneous con-

1. Read further details in *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 727-31; and for an account of scientific progress, Westaway, *The Endless Quest*, pp. 102 ff.

trivance of the two (printing and paper) proved as useful as the combination of the steam engine and coal two centuries later. They resulted in a wonderful dissemination and extension of the New Learning.

In the realm of literature the Italian Ariosto (1474-1533) and Machiavelli (1469-1527), the Frenchmen Rabelais (1490-1553) and Montaigne (1533-1592), the Spanish Cervantes (1547-1616), and the English Spenser (1552-99), Shakespeare (1564-1616), and Francis Bacon (1560-1626), may be taken as representative writers. Ariosto was a romantic poet, and in his *Orlando Furioso* he says,

Of ladies and of knights, of arms and love,
Of courtesy and of brave deeds I sing.

He inspired Spenser, Shakespeare, and the other Elizabethan poets in England. Machiavelli, the author of *The Prince* and *The Art of War*, was a politician devoid of any moral sense. His name has become proverbial for "Realpolitik" or unscrupulous statecraft. Francis Bacon admiringly said: "We are much beholden to Machiavelli and others that wrote what men do and not what men ought to do." Cæsar Borgia (1476-1507), natural son of Pope Alexander VI, was the embodiment of Machiavelli's ideal *Prince*: In the words of Mr. H. G. Wells,

"Cæsar was a youth of spirit even for the times in which he lived; he had early caused his elder brother to be murdered, and also the husband of his sister Lucrezia. He had, indeed, betrayed and murdered a number of people. With his father's assistance he had become duke of a wide area of Central Italy when Machiavelli visited him. He had shown little or no military ability, but considerable dexterity and administrative power. His magnificence was of the most temporary sort. When presently his father died, it collapsed like a pricked bladder. Its unsoundness was not evident to Machiavelli. Our chief interest in Cæsar

Borgia is that he realized Machiavelli's highest ideals of a superb and successful prince." ¹

John Drinkwater has said, in his *The Outline of Literature*, that "The Frenchman Rabelais, the Spaniard Cervantes, and the Englishman Shakespeare, are without question the three giants of the Renaissance."² Since the last of these is too well-known, only the first two need a word of introduction. It is said of Rabelais that his writing "seems to belong to the morning of the world, a time of mirth and a time of expectation." Montaigne was a great essayist and humanitarian. "The greatest thing of the world," he declared, "is for a man to know how to be his own." In one of his essays he quotes an old sailor, who said : "O God, Thou wilt save me, if it be Thy will, and if Thou choosest, Thou wilt destroy me ; but, however it be, I will always hold my rudder straight." That, says Drinkwater, is Montaigne. Both Rabelais and Montaigne represented the Renaissance in France.

Cervantes was the author of *Don Quixote*, which is spoken of as "the most beautiful and wonderful gift of the Renaissance to the literature of the world," apart from the plays of Shakespeare. In it the author presents to us the brilliant pageant of Spanish society in the sixteenth century, but that pageant is also of humanity and belongs to all time, like the creations of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dickens.

Francis Bacon was the typical product of his age : 'the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind.' Like Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, he was versatile. He was a statesman, lawyer, wit, philosopher and man of letters ; "and in each of these several capacities he won a pre-

1. *The Outline of History*, p. 781.

2. P. 256.

eminent place." It is said that although many others could rival him in the mere acquisition of knowledge, "none since Aristotle had so succeeded in impressing the whole with his own mental stamp, and in inspiring a new campaign against ignorance and disorder." His *Essays* are still the most popular of all his works. In one of them Bacon says,

"There are three means to fortify belief. The first, is experience ; the second, reason ; the third, authority : and that of these which is far the most potent is authority ; for belief upon reason or upon experience will stagger."

The greatest imaginative work of the Renaissance period was Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. In that age of discovery, romances, poetry, and new ideals the Renaissance dreamer, 'weary of old abuses, and longing for a more rational and more kindly society,' created this unique work, first published in 1516. More was far ahead of his times, for he "not only denounced the ordinary vices of power, but evinced an enlightenment of sentiment which went far beyond the most statesmanlike ideas to be found among his contemporaries, pronouncing not merely for toleration, but rising even to the philosophic conception of the indifference of religious creed." We shall make a survey of the religious outlook of the age in the next chapter. But before that we must briefly notice the progress in Art.

An age of such expanding horizons and boundless creative energies was bound to express itself in enduring forms of art. With the growth of wealth and the spread of enlightenment came also the desire for better architecture and better æsthetic surroundings. Medieval towns and buildings had been built more for security than for the satisfaction of any artistic ideas. Thus the manorial house was a castle and even the churches and monasteries conformed to the

heavier types of Roman architecture. But now there was a demand for grace and ventilation, and Gothic took the place of the Romanesque. Lancet-shaped windows and arches were constructed instead of the rounded windows and wide round arches on massive round pillars; tall slender spires were built in place of the massive domes and bell-capitals. St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's in London and St. Mark's and the Doge's Palace in Venice, may be cited as the most interesting creations of this period. In the last named, 'all influences built themselves in marble: the Greek and Oriental columns, Roman and Gothic arches, Oriental domes, Moorish ornament and colour, all combined into a new beauty neither Gothic, Classic, nor Oriental, but Venetian, a beauty rich in detail and daring in cosmopolitan combination.'

As in architecture so in painting the Renaissance made its own contributions. The gifted Van Eyck brothers, Hubert and Jan (c. 1380-1440), began a new style in Holland; their work was fresh, bright and delightful. A kindred spirit was found in Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) of Nuremberg and Hans Holbein (1497-1533) in Germany. But the greatest masters of all were in Italy. They were Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who painted his masterpiece (*Last Supper*) on the wall of a convent in Milan; Raphael (1483-1520), 'the best beloved of artists', whose *Madonnas* are counted among the world's treasures; Michael Angelo (1475-1564) with his wonderful frescoes (e. g. the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel at Rome); and Titian (1477-1576), the Venetian master, 'celebrated for his portraits which have preserved for us in the flesh and blood, so to speak, many of the most noteworthy personages of his time.' The change in artistic traditions brought about by all these Renaissance artists is well summed up by

Philip Van Ness Myers in the following words :

"The earlier Italian painters drew their subjects chiefly from Christian sources. They literally covered the walls of the churches, palaces, and civic buildings of Italy with pictorial representations of all the ideas and imaginings of the mediæval ages respecting death, the judgment, heaven and hell. The later artists, more under the influence of the classical revival, mingled freely Pagan and Christian subjects and motives, and thus became truer representatives than their predecessors of the Renaissance movement, one important issue of which was to be the blending of Pagan and Christian culture."¹

1. *General History*, p. 484.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE

Paganism and Catholicism, which, in the fifteenth century, might have shared their supremacy, have ever since been kept apart by the solid wedge driven by Protestantism into the spiritual and intellectual life of Europe. —DAVID OGG

The Reformation in Europe was one of the most important results of the intellectual ferment which we witnessed in the previous chapter. The all-sided changes that were coming over the lives and minds of people were bound to affect their religious views as well. In particular, the new discoveries and astronomical observations were opposed to the Biblical ideas of the universe, and the Renaissance stimulated people to rely more on actual experience rather than on authority. The Church, which had served European society so well in the past, was rooted in Faith and founded on authority. Hence, in the wake of new ideas and outlooks, it was faced with a formidable force which appeared to be stronger than even the barbarians it had converted and tamed. It had not merely survived all persecutions at the hands of the old pagans, but derived considerable power out of its struggles. In the course of the Dark Ages it had become the one rallying centre of civilisation, and the home and nursery of arts, industry, and learning. The Crusades had been fought under its ægis and inspiration; and even Emperors had been reduced to penitence and submission by

its omnipotence. But now a new enlightenment was spreading, which, drawing its inspiration from classical paganism, threatened to undermine the very foundations of the Christian Church. Out of this turmoil and conflict, between the Old and the New, was to be born a new Europe,—the maker of the modern world.

The Church had grown so rich and become so unwieldy that some of the weaknesses which had brought the great Roman Empire into the dust also began to manifest themselves in its life. Unrestrained authority, though exercised in the name of God, inevitably led to corruption, and this could not stand the light of the new day that was dawning over Europe since the thirteenth century A.D. Just as the Roman Empire had first split up into two divisions and then into several kingdoms, the Universal Church was also to be divided into, not only the Eastern and the Western Churches, but into innumerable heretical sects as well. Some of the earlier heresies were born out of theological differences, but during the age under review they arose out of the corrupt practices and vices of Church dignitaries. Hence, we find that many of the new attacks against the Church were led by some of the most learned and well-meaning among Churchmen themselves, who were anxious to *reform* the existing Church rather than found new churches. We shall illustrate this movement by reference to some of its outstanding leaders without entering into controversial theological discussions.

The first of these was John Wycliffe, a teacher at Oxford. Born about 1320, he came into prominence after 1366. Pope Urban V demanded that England should pay the tribute promised by King John (of *Magna Carta* fame) during his submission and humiliation. Wycliffe led the agitation against this demand and tried to establish that John's agree-

ment was void and not binding upon the English people. This soon developed into a general attack upon the Pope and the interference of a foreign Church which had become the butt of much criticism. One of the good things Wycliffe did was to have the Bible translated into English. By this he earned the name of "father of English prose" as no good English prose works existed before his time. His followers, called the "simple priests," were denounced as the Lollards and charged with inciting discontent which led to disorders known as the Peasants' Revolt. Wycliffe himself was excommunicated by the Pope and he died in 1384. He is remembered as the first distinguished scholar and reformer to repudiate the supremacy of the Pope and such practices of the Church as called forth the more violent attacks of Luther a hundred and fifty years later in Germany.

The See of St. Peter had come into disrepute owing to the evil life of some who filled that high office. With the emergence of strong monarchies out of the feudal chaos the old quarrel between Church and State, we noticed in an earlier chapter, reappeared in a more acute form. The Church had amassed great wealth. Who was to appoint its officials? Were the Church lands to be taxed like ordinary estates or not? By whom and in what courts were offenders connected with the Church to be tried and punished? Were they to be subject to Canon (Church) Law or the ordinary law of the land? Had the Pope any right to interfere with the monarchs and their subjects? These were some of the questions about which opposite views were held by the Church and secular authorities. A quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France, regarding such matters led to very serious consequences.

In 1296, Boniface issued a Bull (order) known as *Clericis laicos*, forbidding the clergy and monks to pay, without his

consent, any revenue out of Church property to any king or ruler. He also threatened rulers who should presume to exact such tribute with excommunication. The King of France, Philip the Fair, took up the challenge by bearding the lion in his own den. Finally, in 1305, he got a Pope of his own choice ("Clement V") appointed. These servile Popes continued to be proclaimed until 1377 at Avignon on the border of France.¹ Ultimately, this led to rival Popes being ordained in France and Italy, both claiming to be sole head of the Church. In 1409 a great council was called to Pisa to settle the dispute. Both the rivals at Avignon and Rome were declared deposed and a new Pope was proclaimed. But this only increased the number of Popes to *three* in place of two! The *Great Schism* was not "healed" until the memorable Council of Constance, which met in 1414 and continued its sessions till 1427. Its two great achievements were the burning of Huss (a Bohemian follower of Wycliffe) as a heretic and the appointment of Pope Martin V who displaced all the others.

Another great critic of the decadent Church was the Dutch scholar Erasmus (c. 1469—1536). He was a very learned man and keenly desired to improve the religious conditions in the countries of Western Europe. Though born in Holland he spent much of his life in France, England, Italy, and Germany. As a boy he had been forced into a monastery, much against his will, but he lived to be an earnest monk, greatly interested in Greek and Latin authors, as well as in religious reform. "The essence of our religion," he said, "is peace and harmony. These can only exist where

1. This is known as the "Babylonian Captivity" as it recalled the memory of the Jewish patriarchs taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar (see p. 88 *ante*).

there are few dogmas and each individual is left to form his own opinion upon many matters." He wrote a book entitled "*The Praise of Folly*" in which he fearlessly ridiculed the corrupt practices and weaknesses of the monks and theologians. The effect of its publication was so great that people said that 'the jokes of Erasmus did the Pope more harm than even the anger of Luther.' However, his intention was not to ridicule, but only to reform.

But by far the most consequential among the reformers of this age was Martin Luther (1483—1546). He was an Augustinian friar and professor at Wittenberg. When he first entered the monastic life he was full of enthusiasm for the Church. "Now," he said, "I felt born again, and it seemed to me as though heaven's gates stood full open before me, and I was joyfully entering therein." But when he visited Rome he was staggered with disillusionment. The Pope had sunk to the level of the Italian princes; and the clergy showed no more piety or morality than the neo-pagan humanists of the Renaissance. 'They struggled to recover and enlarge the papal states; they sought to secure principalities and heiresses for their nephews, who were not infrequently their sons; they entered into alliances and waged wars, sometimes themselves donning armour and leading their troops; they patronised the scholars and artists of the new era, and smiled at their open assaults on the Christian religion and their flagrant immoralities; they rebuilt and beautified Rome, using for the purpose the contributions of the faithful of all lands.' The earnest and devout soul of Luther revolted against this, and especially at the abuse and sale of "Indulgences"—a sordid device for exploiting the faithful and enriching the churchmen. Consequently, he denounced the "pietism" of sinners who were not "justified by faith." "If the Pope," he cried out, "releases souls from

purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake?" and "Since the Pope is rich as Cræsus, why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

In 1506 Pope Julius II had commenced the reconstruction of the magnificent church of St. Peter, in Rome, at enormous expenditure. The work had been entrusted to the most famous of contemporary artists and architects—Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Bramante. Hence, the collection of necessary funds, principally through the sale of *Indulgences*, was vigorously pushed forward. Luther openly protested against this campaign and published his objections in the form of ninety-five *theses* nailed to the door of the church at Wittenberg (1517). When the excited people of Germany supported this "protestant" monk, the Pope excommunicated Luther (1520) and the Emperor Charles V banned him (1521). These orders were publicly burned by Luther and his exasperated followers. Thus was Protestantism born in Germany out of the embers of the widespread discontent in Western Europe. When Luther consigned the Papal Bull to the fire he cried out: "Because thou dost trouble the Holy One of the Lord, may eternal fire consume thee!" This incantation was soon to set Europe ablaze with the fires of religious conflict.

Luther was summoned for trial before the imperial Diet (Council) at Worms, but he would not repent or retract: "Unless I am convinced of error by the testimony of Scripture or by manifest evidence," he firmly declared, "I cannot and will not retract." The Emperor Charles V, who presided, then pronounced his verdict:

"What my forefathers established at the Council of Constance and at other councils it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the

faith held by Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, and my life and soul. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him."

This was virtually a declaration of war on the heretics, though Luther never contemplated any attacks on the 'doctrines' of the faith. When the peasants rose in revolt, ostensibly in his support, but really on account of insupportable economic burdens, he denounced the rebels, saying: "I think that all peasants should perish rather than the princes and magistrates, because the peasants have taken up the sword without divine authority. The peasants are under the ban of God and of the Emperor and may be treated as mad dogs." At the Diet of Spier (Speyer), in 1526, it was laid down that each ruler should 'so live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty.' When another Diet at the same place tried to reverse the decree, in 1529, on account of growing extremism among the critics of the Church, the princes (of Saxony, Hesse, Strassburg, etc.) *protested* against interference with their religious freedom. Hence, they were called *Protestants*. They put their demands in a famous document known as the *Augsburg Confession*. This divided Germany and Europe into two opposing camps, the Protestants being mostly the followers of Luther. "German Protestantism," as Professor Hearnshaw has observed, "was the revolt of the Teuton against Latin domination; the rebellion of the lay-mind against clerical authority; the resentment of the frugal maker of wealth at unscrupulous spoliation; the rising of the free intellect against inquisitorial re-

pression; the resurgence of the individual against the restrictive community; above all the reaction of a moral people against a practice—the sale of Indulgences—which easily rent itself to the most scandalous abuses.”¹

So far as Germany was concerned a sort of religious settlement was arrived at in the “Peace of Augsburg” in 1555. By it, ‘each German prince and each town and knight, immediately under the Emperor, was to be at liberty to make a choice between the beliefs of the venerable Catholic Church and those embodied in the Augsburg Confession. If, however, an ecclesiastical prince—an archbishop, bishop, or abbot—declared himself a Protestant, he must surrender his possessions to the Church. Every German was either to conform to the religious practices of his particular state or emigrate from it. Every one was supposed to be either a Catholic or a Lutheran, and no provision was made for any other belief.’ *Cujus regio ejus religio*: the religion of the ruler was to be the faith of the state.

We must rather rapidly sketch the history and influence of Protestantism in other countries. “For at least a century after Luther’s death,” writes Professor Robinson, “the great issue between Catholics and Protestants dominates the history of all the countries with which we have to do, except Italy and Spain, where Protestantism never took permanent root. In Switzerland, England, France, and Holland the revolt against the Medieval Church produced discord, wars, and profound changes, which must be understood in order to follow the later development of these countries.”²

Zwingli (1484-1531) was the leader of this movement in Switzerland, and Calvin (1509-64) in France. The former

1. *A First Book of World History*, p. 152.

2. *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 305.

was a liberal-minded humanist and scholar of Zurich. He lived in the monastery of Einsiedeln, where pilgrims gathered from all parts on account of a 'wonder-working image.' "Here," says Zwingli, "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in 1516, before any one in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther." He paid for this with his life; for he fell fighting at Kappel, in 1531, in the course of a religious war. Unlike Luther, Zwingli had not to create public opinion but only to direct it. A willing press gave wide publicity to his views about the Church as a "republic of believers," and denouncing the doctrines of purgatory, invocation of saints, clerical celibacy, fasts, pilgrimages, and transubstantiation. Even the civic authorities rendered him assistance. But the defeat of the Zwinglians at Kappel gave the palm of leadership to Geneva instead of Zurich.

John Calvin was a Frenchman who had studied his Classics in Paris, and Law at Bourges and Orleans. In spirit he was the most combative and uncompromising of all the reformers. Mr. David Ogg writes, "What Lenin was to the monarchist régime in Russia, such was Calvin to the empire of Catholicism in Western Europe: in both men there was the same absolute consistency of purpose and the same refusal to deviate by a hair's breadth from the path indicated by an imperious logic: in both there was the same indefinable and almost hypnotic power by which their followers were alternately fascinated and perturbed."¹ Calvin taught predestination and followed the stoic ideal in life. "Men are not all born equal," he said, "for some are pre-ordained to eternal life, some to eternal damnation." In spite of this gloomy doctrine, Calvin exercised a wholesome influence upon the semi-paganised society around him. He

1. *The Reformation*, p. 41.

subjected his followers to a stern moral discipline, and Calvinism, with its headquarters at Geneva, "has been associated with the most progressive and enterprising peoples of modern times." Calvin entrusted the management of Church affairs to *presbyters* or elders, from whom is derived the term "Presbyterian." Both France and Scotland were much influenced by this reformer.

In France the Reformation had already made inroads in the shape of heretical sects like the Waldenses.¹ Despite persecutions and massacres, particularly under Henry II (1547-59), the number of Protestants had increased. By the direction of Calvin (1555-64) a vigorous reformist church was brought into existence in France. The inevitable result was a dreary period of Wars of Religion which lasted from 1559-1598. Under the Guises a régime of intrigue, treason, and terrorism was established. These were the days of the persecutions of the Huguenots—St. Bartholomew's Day (1572)—and the French Protestant alliance with England. The tide turned, as the reader might know, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588: in the following year the Guises were assassinated, and the Huguenots found a capable leader in Henry of Navarre, who succeeded to the French throne. By the famous Edict of Nantes (1598) the Huguenots, for the time being, secured religious toleration.

In Scotland the leader of the new movement was John Knox (1505-72), a disciple of Calvin. He was an avowed enemy of 'popery and idolatry,' and the *Kirk* (church) which he established held sway for over three centuries. Migrating into Ireland, together with the English Protestants, the Scotch Calvinists helped to create there the problem of Ulster.

1. From Peter Waldo who sought guidance from the reformers of Germany and Switzerland.

Of English Protestantism, which must be more familiar to the reader, we need write very little here. The ground had no doubt been prepared by Wycliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation." Erasmus too had lived in England for a long time, and Tyndale had again translated the *Bible* into English before he was burnt as a heretic in Flanders. But the course of the Reformation in England, it is well-known, was determined by Henry VIII's disgust towards his first wife Catharine, and his love for Anne Boleyn. For this, he summoned the Reformation Parliament (1529-36), abolished appeals to the Papal court, confirmed the divorce, and proclaimed by statute that the King of England 'justly is, and ought to be, the Supreme head of the Church of England.' The Reformation in England was more political than religious to begin with. Henry had won the title of Defender of the Faith (which is still borne by His Majesty) by his defence of the Catholic Church against the Lutheran attacks. He also burnt Anabaptists and Lutherans at the stake as heretics. But, at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that he also executed Papalists like Sir Thomas More (author of *Utopia*) and Bishop Fisher, and despoiled and abolished monasteries, for the sake of their riches. Under his successors, England staggered from the Protestant extremism of Edward VI and Somerset to the Catholic extremism of Mary, until she finally settled down to the stabler compromise of the English Church under Elizabeth. The only common feature between all these was the burning of 'heretics.' We have a glimpse of the mind of Tudor England in the following order for the execution of Bishop Hooper:—

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic,

and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; for asmuch as in those cities, and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there. And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vain glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, and, having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is, therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as ye tender our pleasure.

To save itself from the surging tide of Protestantism the Roman Catholic Church adopted various measures which had very far-reaching consequences. This is often described as the "Counter-Reformation." The most distinguished workers in this attempt to set the Catholic house in order were the Jesuits, members of a glorious Order—the Society of Jesus—founded by the Spaniard, St. Ignatius Loyola (1493-1556). The Pope, Paul III, approving of "this army of Jesus Christ," described the society as one

"founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions."

As Mr. Wells has pointed out in his *Outline of History*, "It was the Order of the Jesuits which carried Christianity to China again after the downfall of the Ming dynasty, and Jesuits were the chief Christian missionaries in India and North America. To their civilizing work among the Indians in South America we shall presently allude. But their main achievement lay in raising the standard of Catholic education. Their schools became and remained for a long time the best schools in Christendom. Says Lord Verulam (Sir Francis Bacon): 'As for the pedagogic part... consult the schools of the Jesuits, for nothing better has been put in practice.' They raised the level of intelligence, they quickened the conscience of all Catholic Europe, they stimulated Protestant Europe to competitive educational effort."

The other great agency in the uplift of the Catholic cause was the Council of Trent which worked from 1545 to 1563. Its efforts were directed towards (1) defining the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and defending the same against the objections raised by the Protestants; (2) succinctly and explicitly declaring accursed the various heretical beliefs; and (3) abolishing the various abuses that had crept into the Church, and enforcing a more rigid discipline among the clergy and monks.

The Index and the Inquisition represented two other aspects of the Counter-Reformation. By the former the Popes sought to ban heretical literature and by the latter heretical lives. The two proscriptions together showed how far Europe was from religious toleration despite the enlightenment of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

CHRONOLOGY

SECTION THREE

A.D.

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| 105 | Chinese manufactured paper. |
| 206—221 | Han Dynasty. |
| 311 | Emperor Galerius : official recognition of Christianity. |
| 397 | House of Toba founded. |
| 410 | Alaric the Goth : fall of Rome. |
| 438 | Code of Theodosius (completed). |
| 455 | Emperor Valentinian III proclaims the Pope's supremacy over Christendom. |
| 467 | Western Roman Empire extinguished. |
| 496 | King Clovis baptised. |
| 502—57 | Liang Dynasty. |
| 526 | Benedictine Order founded. |
| 570 | Prophet Muhammad born. |
| 589—618 | Sur Dynasty. |
| 605—17 | Yang Ti. |
| 618—907 | Tang Dynasty. |
| 622 | <i>Hijra</i> : flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. |
| 627—50 | T'ai Tsung. |
| 632 | Death of Muhammad (Prophet). |
| 647 | Death of Harsha of Kanouj. |
| 700—1000 | Pratiharas. |
| 711 | Arabs conquer Spain. |
| 712 | Arab conquest of Sind. |
| 732 | Battle of Tours : Saracen advance into France checked. |
| 737 | Battle of Kadessia. |
| 741 | Death of Charles Martel. |
| 768—814 | Charlemagne. |
| 800 | Charlemagne crowned by Pope Leo III. |

A.D.

- 809 Death of Haroun-al-Rashchid.
 843 Treaty of Verdun : Partition of Charlemagne's Empire.
 865—925 Rhazes (Arab scholar).
 870 Treaty of Mersen : further division of Charlemagne's Empire.
 900—1100 Cholas ; Golden Age of Islamic Science.
 960—1280 Sung Dynasty.
 962 Otto the Great crowned by the Pope : beginning of the Holy Roman Empire.
 973—1048 Al-Biruni.
 980—1037 Abu 'Ali-al-Husayu ibn Sina (Avicenna).
 1056—1106 Henry IV (Emperor).
 1056—1254 Crusades.
 1068—86 Wang An-shih.
 1079—1142 Abelard.
 1095 Council of Clermont.
 1101 Godfrey first King of Jerusalem died.
 1106—25 Henry V (Emperor).
 1122 Concordat of Worms.
 1126—98 Abu'l-Walid ibn Rushd.
 1147 Turks massacre Christians at Edessa.
 1152—90 Frederick Barbarosa (Emperor).
 1155—1227 Chengiz Khan.
 1187 Jerusalem taken by Saladin.
 1198—1216 Pope Innocent III.
 1206—80 Albertus Magnus.
 1212 Children's Crusade.
 1212—50 Frederick II (Emperor).
 1215 *Magna Carta*.
 1236 Cordoba captured by King of Castile.
 1258 Abbasid Caliphate ended by Hulagu : Bagdad destroyed by Mongols.
 1260—95 Marco-Polo.
 1274 Thomas Aquinas died.
 1280—1368 Yuan Dynasty.
 1292 Kublai Khan died.
 1294 Roger Bacon died.

A.D.

- 1296 *Clericis Laicos* (Papal Bull).
 1296—1316 Allaudin Khalji.
 1302 Dante banished from Florence.
 1304—74 Petrarch.
 1305 Pope Clement V.
 1313—75 Boccaccio.
 1320 Wycliffe born.
 1321 Dante died.
 1325—51 Muhammad Tughlak.
 1369—1405 Timur.
 1380—1440 Van Eyck brothers.
 1398 Timur in India.
 1402 Turks defeated at Angora by Timur.
 1409 Great Council of Pisa.
 1414 Council of Constance.
 1417—67 Zain-ul-Abideen liberal ruler of Kashmir.
 1440—1518 Kabir.
 1447—55 Pope Nicholas V.
 1452—1519 Leonardo da Vinci.
 1453 Constantinople captured by Turks.
 1469—1527 Machiavelli.
 1469—1536 Erasmus.
 1469—1539 Nanak.
 1471—1528 Albrecht Dürer.
 1473—1543 Copernicus.
 1474—1533 Ariosto.
 1475—1564 Michael Angelo.
 1476—1507 Cæsar Borgia.
 1477—1576 Titian.
 1483—1520 Raphael.
 1483—1546 Martin Luther.
 1484—1531 Zwingli.
 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded Cape of Good Hope.
 1490 Martin Behaim cartographer.
 1490—1553 Rabelais.
 1492 Conquest of Granada; Columbus reached West Indies.

A.D.

- 1493 Papal Bull dividing the World between Spain and Portugal.
- 1493—1556 St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus.
- 1497—1533 Hans Halbein.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama reached Calicut.
- 1503—13 Pope Julius II.
- 1505—72 John Knox.
- 1509—64 Calvin.
- 1512 Portuguese reached Java and Moluccas.
- 1513 Balboa saw Pacific Ocean across Panama.
- 1513—21 Pope Leo X.
- 1517 Luther's challenge (95 theses).
- 1519 Magellan at Strait of Magellan.
- 1519—21 Conquest of Mexico by Cortez.
- 1520—21 Luther excommunicated and banned.
- 1520—66 Zenith of Ottoman power.
- 1526 First Battle of Panipat : Mughal Empire founded by Babur.
- Diet of Spier.
- 1529—36 Reformation Parliament.
- 1531 Zwingli killed in the battle of Kappel.
- Conquest of Peru by Pizarro.
- 1533—92 Montaigne.
- 1545—63 Council of Trent.
- 1546—1601 Tycho Brahe.
- 1547—1616 Cervantes.
- 1547—59 Henry II (France).
- 1552—99 Edmund Spenser (poet).
- 1559—98 Religious Wars in France.
- 1560—1626 Francis Bacon.
- 1564—1616 Shakespeare.
- 1564—1642 Galileo.
- 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day : Huguenots massacred in France.
- 1588 Spanish Armada routed by the English.
- 1598 Edict of Nantes : toleration granted to Huguenots.

SECTION FOUR

In this section are described all the 'main currents' of modern life. Chapter XXII deals with the contributions of Monarchy to the progress of the world as well as its evils. Chapter XXIII describes how the *Fall of the Old Order* was brought about by breaking *The Spell of Grand Monarchy*. Chapter XXIV contains the story of *The Making of Modern Europe*, particularly in the political field. The culmination of the national and economic developments in *The Expansion of Europe* overseas is dealt with in Chapter XXV ; while the *Awakening of the East* which was the inevitable result of the intrusion of the West is described in Chapter XXVI. The complex resultant of the modern trends in *The World To-day* is the subject of Chapter XXVII ; and some philosophic reflections on the entire historical process, as described in all previous chapters, are contained in Chapter XXVIII which deals with the *Past, Present, and Future*.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE SPELL OF GRAND MONARCHY

It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do ; ... so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king . can do, or say that a King cannot do this or that.

—JAMES I STUART

The religious struggle in Europe which we traced in the last chapter was brought to a close by the Thirty Years' War which terminated with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Though religious intolerance continued in the countries of Europe for a long time after this, the middle of the sixteenth century constituted a turning point in history, since the main interest of people thereafter was centred in matters other than religious.

The unity of Christendom had long been lost : Europe was no longer united either in religion or in politics. Out of the disruption of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, had emerged a new order. At first there was the chaos of the Dark Age. The successors of Charlemagne and Otto the Great having failed to hold Europe together, it was left to the Pope and the Church to provide the only bonds of union possible in the Middle Ages. But with the Renaissance Europe came to be once again divided, and this division was to be permanent. Hence we might truly begin the history of Modern Europe, that is, Europe as we find her to-day, with the close of the Reformation. However, to understand some of its out-

standing features we have very often to refer back ; *for History is continuous.*

One powerful link with the Past is found in the institution of Monarchy. Monarchy is almost as ancient as authentic history. We have witnessed it in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, India, China, Greece, and Rome. The Church and Monarchy contended in Europe for the complete control of the masses all through the medieval times. The Popes were ambitious to wield political no less than religious sovereignty, while the monarchs too sought to command the consciences as well as the secular lives of their subjects. The Reformation brought to the monarchs of Europe a considerable accession of strength, even as the use of gun-powder had placed a powerful weapon in their hands. It was ultimately through their agency, not through the conservative channels of the Church, that Europe emerged out of the medieval into modern times. Though monarchy came to be later discredited it played an important part in helping forward the progress of human civilisation in all countries. In this chapter we shall trace its fortunes and vicissitudes, from its early beginnings to its grand culmination, in England, France, Austria, Spain, Germany, Russia, and India, with a view to assess the nature of its contributions to human history.

England, on account of her insular position, developed faster and outgrew the need of monarchical rule earlier than most other countries. Her earliest king to whom we need refer here was Alfred the Great (871-901 A.D.). His memory is still cherished among the greatest of that country. He is rightly regarded as the creator and saviour of England and figures well in history as well as literature.¹ An inscription

1. Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

on his statue at Wantage beautifully sums up his great qualities and services thus :

' Alfred found learning dead, and restored it. Education neglected, and he revived it. The laws powerless, and he gave them force. The Church debased, and he raised it. The land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from which he delivered it. Alfred's name will live as long as mankind shall repeat the past.'

Next after Alfred the most memorable monarch of England was William the Conqueror (1066-87). Though a Norman, and ruler as much of Normandy as of England (after his victory over Harold at Senlac or Hastings, 1066), he left a permanent mark over English history and institutions. He gave England a strong government, curbed the evils of feudalism by the Salisbury Oath, effected the valuable and interesting Domesday Survey, and, despite the Pope's support to his English invasion, emphatically refused to do homage for his kingdom. Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII) accepted the refusal without much protest as he could not afford to quarrel with all princes at once. His hands were already full with the dispute with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, as we have already seen (pp. 266-68).

Further consolidation of the English monarchy took place under William's great-grandson Henry II (1154-89). Being the son of Count Geoffrey of Anjou,¹ and having married Eleanor of Aquitaine, he became ruler of vast dominions in France as well. His chief achievements were the repression of feudal anarchy and the organisation of order and justice. It was unfortunate that his attempts at centralisation of royal authority should have resulted in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury ; for it postponed the subordination of the Church to secular control which was finally

1. Son-in-law of Henry I (son of William the Conqueror).

achieved only by Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1534). Nevertheless, the work of Henry II culminated in making his fifth son, John (1199-1216), so powerful that his tyranny initiated a new trend in English history. Its first fruit was the famous *Magna Carta* (1215), the first of a series of great charters on which the edifice of English liberty rests. Before this was wrung from John by the English barons, the English king was an autocrat unparalleled in his authority in Christendom for six hundred years since Charlemagne. "The *Magna Carta*," says Professor Adams, "closes one epoch of English constitutional history and begins another."¹ The principal interest of British history since the Great Charter lies in the growth of Parliament.² But here we are more concerned with the fortunes of the English monarchy which was to have its fullest development under the Tudors and its decline and fall under their successors.

Edward I (1272-1307) was the next great ruler of England. He has been called "the English Justinian" on account of the great improvements he effected in the laws of England. He set himself to reduce the powers of both the barons and the Church and considerably succeeded in doing it. He also conquered Wales. Simon de Montfort's *Model Parliament* met (1295) during his reign. He laid the foundations of *Lombard Street* by allowing Italian bankers to settle down in London. The craft guilds too prospered under his wise regulation and patronage. But most of his good work was undone by a series of disastrous wars which his ambitions had evoked. The attempt to conquer Scotland led on to

1. G. B. Adams, *The Constitutional History of England*, p. 144.

2. The "expansion of England" geographically is a parallel interest which will be dealt with in a later context.

entanglements with France which, under Edward III (1327-77), resulted in beginning the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453).

We have already alluded to the French possessions of the English kings. Even when these were reduced by the losses suffered by John "Lackland", what remained was still an eye-sore to the French monarchs. Hence they provoked hostilities by helping the Scots. But, even otherwise, Edward III lacked no *casus belli*. He put forward a preposterous claim to the throne of France. Edward was a "Jingo" who, in the words of Mr. Somerwell,¹ "determined to paint as much of the map red as he possibly could;" for, to him, England was "more delightful and more profitable than all other lands." So Crecy and Poitiers were fought, and the centres of civilisation were duly impressed: Petrarch, the Italian humanist, declared, "In my youth, the Britons, whom we call Angles or English, were esteemed the most timid of the barbarians, inferior to the wretched Scots. Now they are the most warlike of peoples. They have overturned the ancient military glory of the French." As all the fighting took place on French soil, the devastation in that country was great and widespread. Again, says Petrarch: "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins. Even about Paris there were everywhere signs of fire and destruction. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds."

In 1348 the Black Death appeared. It affected France, England, Germany, and parts of Italy. This pestilence not merely carried away nearly one half of the population of England, but also caused great distress among the survivors. The resulting scarcity of labour led to a bitter struggle be-

1. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 31.

tween landlords and workers culminating in the Peasants' Revolt (1381). But the war with France dragged on intermittently. Henry V (1413-22) had less reason but more enthusiasm for its prosecution. He began with the siege of Harfleur and soon won the celebrated victory of Agincourt (1415). "No battle was ever more fatal to France." Other triumphs followed, but it was a short-lived glory. Henry V was succeeded by his only son Henry VI (1422-61). Without the capacity of his father this prince nevertheless pursued his ambitions in France. The most celebrated event of this *dénouement* of the Hundred Years' War was the heroic episode of Joan of Arc, the maid who saved Orleans (1429), and got the Dauphin crowned at Rheims, but was the next year caught by the English and burnt by them as a witch. "We are lost—we have burnt a saint," declared an English soldier who witnessed the burning. He was really prophetic of the fate of the English in France. They were expelled from Normandy in 1450, and three years later from all but Calais.

The Wars of the Roses followed in the wake of the French wars. They were fought between two rival families, the Houses of Lancaster and York, for the throne of England (1455-85). This civil struggle was the "swan song" of feudalism in England. It brought that country under the Grand Monarchy of the Tudors (1485-1603). They ruled despotically and yet retained their popularity. For want of space we must treat of the epoch as a whole and not the rulers individually. It was a glorious age both for England and the rest of Europe, though "other men laboured, and the English entered into their labours."

Henry VII, founder of the family, restored order at home, forged dynastic links with other ruling families, and negotiated commercial treaties. Henry VIII, the much married

monarch, plundered monasteries for the spiritual health of England, made England independent of Rome without tampering with its doctrines, and tried to hold the "balance of power" in Europe in his own favour. In the next two reigns—of Edward VI and Mary—England violently swung between Geneva and Rome and lit 'such candles as should never be easily put out,' until she got inebriated with the glory of the good Queen Bess.

Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

Though Calais, the last foothold of England in France, had been lost by Mary, Elizabeth more than restored English prestige among continental powers by winning the "English Salamis"—i.e. the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). It was 'both a victory for Protestantism in Europe, and a sign that the mastery of the seas was passing from the Mediterranean to the northern peoples.' "Yet," observes Professor Flenley, "the spirit of the Elizabethan age is to be found not only in the daring exploits of its sea-dogs, or in the charm of the Elizabethan manor-houses whose appearance testified to the growth of wealth and comfort, but also in the music of the Elizabethan madrigal composers, and, above all, in Elizabethan poetry and prose."¹ It was the age of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon. We must now turn to the Grand Monarchy on the continent of Europe. But here we can touch only the peak-points in the dynastic histories of the various countries. Nor should more be necessary for illustrating this well-known phenomenon.

French history, as distinct from that of the Western Franks, began only with the accession of Hugh Capet (968 A.D.)

1. *World History*, p. 446.

whose dynasty continued to rule France until it was replaced by the House of Valois in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Even during that period the Capetians shared their dominion with the English, as the Angevin Empire in France lasted from 1154-1204. Besides, the country was rent by feudal strife until the accession of Louis VI (1108-37), the fifth monarch of the line, who at least partially got the situation in hand. Henry II of England had possessed more of French territory than the French monarch, but under John (of England) and Philippe II (of France) the position was completely changed. England lost all except Guienne and the Channel Islands ; and, in 1216, Louis, the son of Philippe, landed on English soil by invitation of the English barons, to displace John. Philippe (1180-1223) was the main founder of the French monarchy.

In keeping with the trend of the times, Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France (1226-70) sounded the first signal of revolt against the Papacy, though he himself, after a vigorous reign, died at Carthage while on a Crusade (the 7th). He left the French monarchy on a new and independent basis. The tendency reached its climax under Philippe IV who, in 1301, refused to admit the Pope's claim to temporal authority. He went to the extent of burning the Papal Bull and even seizing the person of the Pope himself. Then commenced the famous "Babylonish Captivity" (1378-1417) already referred to in the previous chapter.

The Hundred Years' War with England began under the House of Valois. Its results have already been commented upon. France gradually recovered while England was plunged in the Wars of the Roses. "The strong and subtle reign of Louis XI (1461-1488) settled much of the internal difficulty with the unruly dukes, especially the proud Duke of Burgundy, and France was presently able to look towards

the East. Under his successor, Charles VIII, began the 'Italian Wars' (1494-1559) of France with the Hapsburgs, who had meantime succeeded to the imperial throne."¹

We have before referred to the rise of Calvinism, the persecution of the French Huguenots, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. These events took place during the regime of the House of Valois-Orleans (1498-1589). The accession of the Bourbon Henry of Navarre brought some relief to the persecuted Protestants of France by the Edict of Nantes (1598), though his Catholic subjects obliged him to consider that 'Paris was worth a Mass.' Henry IV ruled wisely and well from 1589 to 1610 under the advice of his worthy minister Sully. Sully set to work to re-establish the kingly power, which had suffered greatly under the last three rulers of the Valois family. He reduced the great burden of debt which had weighed upon the country, laid out new roads and canals, and encouraged agriculture. He also applied himself to the task of dismissing useless noblemen and officers who were mere parasites. But this, combined with religious fanaticism, brought about his assassination in 1610.

Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most famous ministers of France, carried on the administration (1624-42) for Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, during the momentous years of the Thirty Years' War. He did more than anybody else to rouse the national ambitions of his country and set France on the ruinous policy of self-aggrandisement. He declared war against Catholic Spain in 1635, after having formed a formidable alliance with the chief enemies of the House of Austria who were all heretical Protestants. But France gained the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of this policy, though their acquisition meant the sowing of the

1. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire*, pp. 122-3.

Dragon's teeth. "The military exploits of the French generals, especially Turenne and Condé, during the opening years of Louis XIV (1643-1715), showed that a new period had begun in which the military and political supremacy of Spain was to give way to that of France."¹

Louis XIV was, indeed, the proto-type of Grand Monarchy. He supplied the model which was copied by all later rulers, each according to his genius and capacity. Cardinal Mazarin served his early years (to 1661) even as Richelieu did under his predecessor. Every circumstance, whether internal or external, was made to serve the interests of the Grand Monarchy. At home the power of the nobility was broken down, and France came out of the Thirty Years' War in Europe with enlarged territories and increased importance. When Louis XIV came of age he carried forward the work so well begun by his great minister. 'By his incessant wars he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals who led his newly organised troops, and the wily diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most powerful of the other European states.' He successfully followed the doctrine of kingship which his Stuart contemporaries pompously set forth at their peril. *La etat c'est moi* (I am the State), though attributed to Louis XIV without sufficient historical basis, truly represents his actual faith. His prevailing occupation, in the words of Mr. H. G. Wells, was *splendour*. He built a new palace-city for himself at Versailles where developed all the luxurious arts.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate."

Louis XIV also decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men. Boileau laid down the canons of style; Corneille gave French drama its rhetorical and classical form; and Racine, its final perfection and polish. The popular Molière (1622-73) wrote his incomparable comedies, and La Fontaine his simple and satirical fables on the foibles of society. Voltaire called the age of Louis XIV "the most enlightened age the world has ever seen"; it gave to French culture a stamp and prestige which were to survive the loss of French political ascendancy, and even the downfall of Grand Monarchy itself.

But there was also another side to this picture. Louis XIV revived religious intolerance in France by his revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Great numbers of his most sober and industrious subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. "Under his rule," writes Mr. Wells, "were carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire." The worst legacy of Louis XIV was, however, a legacy of wars: ruinous to France and ruinous to Europe and the world, though immediately it looked like success.

His reign opened with the French acquisition of Alsace, as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which ended the Thirty Years' War. It tempted him to more ambitious endeavours. Though these raised against him formidable

combinations like the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, Louis was not deterred. He seized Franche Comté, Strassburg, and Luxemburg. His religious policy raised against him the League of Augsburg, and the War for the Palatinate ended in the Peace of Ryswick (1697) by which he was obliged to acknowledge the Protestant succession (1688) in England, and to restore Spain and Austria many of his recent gains. His last war was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) in which he had to fight the Grand Alliance formed by Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy. It ended with the Peace of Utrecht, which though it left a Bourbon candidate (Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV) on the throne of Spain, marked also the humiliation of France on every other side. "The Peace of Utrecht, like that of Westphalia, marks a phase not merely in the imperial rivalry of Austria and France, but in the history of Europe as a whole."

The histories of Spain, Austria and Germany are linked up together on account of their rulers. As yet nations as we know them to-day had not appeared, and the fortunes of countries were determined by their ruling dynasties. Dynastic wars, dynastic alliances, and dynastic marriages settled the fates of peoples before the rise of national states and democracies. Hence the importance of the Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, etc. We must, therefore, now speak of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern families, having written something already about the Bourbons.

The real founder of Hapsburg greatness was the Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1514) of Austria. By inheritance, marriage, and conquest, he extended his dominions so much that his grandson Charles V (1519-56) owned territories in Austria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, besides the overseas possessions of Spain. Charles V

was the contemporary of Henry VIII of England and of Francis I of France. From Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain he inherited Spain and their overseas dominions in 1516 ; from Maximilian he got Austria and all the imperial dominions in 1519, though for these latter he had to vastly outbid his rival Francis I of France. For the Imperial throne was subject to election and the candidates had to expend millions in order to purchase the votes. Then a contest ensued between Francis and Charles for certain possessions in which Henry VIII astutely tried to hold the balance. In 1544 all the three disappointed men retired from the struggle having squandered away the resources of their respective countries.

After the death of Charles V the Hapsburg line was divided into two branches : the Spanish branch continued to rule until 1700 when, as we saw, a grandson of Louis XIV (Bourbon) succeeded to the Spanish throne ; and the Austrian branch held the Imperial sceptre until its extinction in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. Already the so-called Holy Roman Empire had ceased to be either Holy, Roman, or Empire. Only a few notable events in the history of the two Hapsburg branches may be recorded here.

It was under Philip II of Spain (Charles V's successor) that the Armada was defeated by the English. It was under the same Philip II also that the Dutch were exasperated with the religious persecutions of the Inquisition and compelled to break off into a republic under the leadership of their heroic Stadtholder, William the Silent, Prince of Orange (1533-84). Though he was assassinated before the struggle ended, he was the real founder of the Dutch Republic. King William of Orange, who was called to the throne of England in 1688, was his great-great-grandson.

In the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs the last of the great rulers were the famous Maria Theresa (1740-65) and

her son Joseph II (1765-1809). Under the former the Austrian dominions included Austria, Moravia, Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, Belgium, and Milan. Though Frederick of Prussia presently seized Silesia, Maria Theresa had compensation in the acquisition of a part of Poland. Her son, Joseph II, was ambitious to build up a homogeneous state out of the welter of nationalities (Slav, Magyar, German, Italian, and Flemish) on the basis of his enlightened despotism. At the commencement of his reign he declared, "I have made Philosophy the legislator of my Empire. Her logical principles shall transform Austria." But in spite of his earnestness he died a disappointed monarch, proposing for his tomb in Vienna the unenviable epitaph: '*Here lies Joseph who failed in all that he attempted.*' He failed because he was an idealist far in advance of his country. The more realistic rulers of Russia and Prussia were more fortunate than Joseph II.

Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725) and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) were both Enlightened Despots like Joseph II of Austria. All of them tried to aggrandise their countries, as well as their dynasties, after the fashion of Louis XIV of France. In doing so they laid the foundations of their national greatness and menace, which we shall follow up in a later chapter. But before we close our survey of Grand Monarchy we must have a glimpse of its Asiatic replica, *viz.* the Mughal Empire in India.

This Empire, as readers know, was founded by Babur (a descendant of Timur and Chengiz Khan) as the result of his great victory at Panipat (1526) over Ibrahim Lodi, ruler of Delhi. Babur's descendants occupied the throne of Delhi until the great Mutiny in 1857. But their rule was effective over the greater part of India only till the death of Bahadur Shah I (1712). Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah were con-

temporaries of Louis XIV, even as the earlier Mughal Emperors were the contemporaries of the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns of England. Akbar died two years after Queen Elizabeth (1605). The Mughal Grand Monarchy was, however, at its best only from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1557-1707), a period of hundred and fifty years. But that was a period which does not compare ill with the splendours of the Grand Monarchy in Europe. In some respects it was certainly more enlightened than its European contemporaries. We do not find Akbar's religious toleration paralleled anywhere in the Europe of his days, nor his zeal for social reform until long after. Jehangir tried to abolish drink and Akbar *sati*, while, for the most part, all the Mughals tried to follow the statesmanlike ideals laid down by Sher Shah, the great Afghan administrator, who laid the foundations of the system which was improved upon by his Mughal successors: 'justice', declared Sher Shah, 'is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.' He also realised that 'the cultivators are the source of prosperity,' and that 'if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.' In the field of architecture and art the Mughals achieved marvels which are appreciated by all even to this day. As I have said elsewhere, 'The Empire of the Mughals has vanished forever, but their personality endures in a thousand forms, visible and invisible. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting, and architecture the impress of the Mughal is ever present.'¹

The Mughals, of course, shared in the autocracy and vices of the Grand Monarchy of Europe no less than its splendours. But as the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes wrote: "Yet they

1. S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, p. 866.

were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpur-Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning some peccant members of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century ; ' Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality ! ' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."¹

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

FALL OF THE OLD ORDER

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.

—TENNYSON

The "Divine Right" on which the Grand Monarchy was based had become so debased that it proved to be a right (claim) to exploit the people for the selfish autocracy and luxuries of the kings. But this claim could not be sustained for long in the wake of the progress that mankind was making. Just as the autocracy and corruption of the Church had given rise to the Reformation in religious matters, so also in the political field there was soon to be a *re-formation*. The divine right of kings was to give place to the 'Divine Right of Peoples': *vox populi vox Dei*, 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' was to be the new slogan. We shall give in this chapter a few outstanding examples of how the Old Order changed, yielding place to New, and see how God fulfilled Himself in many ways in the Netherlands, in England, in France, and in India.

The Netherlands (Holland) had formed part of the Empire of Charles V, as we have noted before. In the religious struggles of the Reformation period the people of that country enacted some of the most heroic episodes in all human history. Their resistance to Charles V and his successor Philips II of Spain was due both to religious and national feelings. "No two peoples could have been more

opposite in character," observes one writer, "Spain quite behind the age, bigoted, superstitious, violently Catholic, cruel and aristocratic; and the Netherlands, full of life and activity, the rival of Italy in art and learning, ready to go ahead and adopt all the advanced and enlightened thought of the Reformation. In trade they had no rivals, for they were the busiest manufacturers in the world. Their stuffs were celebrated everywhere, and their ships visited all the ports in the world. This happy, brave little people were to be crushed and persecuted for their valour."¹ It is well to point out here that, although it was a people's struggle for liberty (religious and political) on the part the Dutch, it was not the tyranny of the Spanish *people* so much as of the Spanish *Monarchy*. The heterogeneous composition of the Hapsburg dominions showed that their only bond of union was the common yoke of submission to a foreign dynasty. National, religious, and democratic liberty were all involved in the Dutch war of independence. At the end of their heroic struggle, despite the Inquisition, the Council of Blood, and all other inhumanities of the Spanish Fury (all alike characteristic of the Old Order), the *people* of the Netherlands achieved both their religious and political independence (characteristics of the New Age) when, in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which closed the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch Republic was recognised. This was the first triumph of the new forces in human history against the *ancient régime*.

By a curious coincidence, at the same time, the English people also overthrew the Stuart autocracy in which the Tudor Grand Monarchy had culminated. This was again an happening in human history of the utmost importance. It was equally significant of the new trend in human civi-

1. A. and D. Ponsonby, *Rebels and Reformers*, p. 47.

lisation and progress. The future was to belong to peoples rather than to princes.

Greenidge has said that the soul of Greek history is its constitutionalism. The same may be asserted about England of all modern countries. As the Reformation movement culminated in the Netherlands in the political liberation of its people, so too in England it was to get merged in its constitutional struggle. This last was England's supreme gift to the world. "While Germany boasts her Reformation and France her Revolution," says Trevelyan, "England can point to her dealings with the House of Stuart....During the seventeenth century a despotic scheme of society and government was so firmly established in Europe, that but for the course of events in England it would have been the sole successor of the medieval system."¹ But the reader will do well to remember that the movement for constitutional liberty had its beginnings very early in English history. What the Stuart century revealed was only the critical stage in a long process. The end came very much later.

We have earlier referred to the Magna Carta (1215) which may be considered as the first great landmark, though it has always ranked as the sheet-anchor of English liberty. Other charters which followed in succeeding centuries only sought to secure and extend what had already been laid down in that basic document. The barons who fought against King John for their feudal rights and privileges were really the unconscious parents of the English parliamentary system. The committee they set up to safeguard those rights and privileges developed into the "Mother of Parliaments." The two great ages in the growth of Parliamentary power, says

1. G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, p. 1.

Professor Adams, are the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries. But since the work of the earlier centuries was interrupted by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor despotism, we might as well speak here only of the constitutional achievements of the Stuart and succeeding periods.

The Grand Monarchy of the Tudors was tolerated because it served national ends. Had the Stuarts been equally capable and patriotic the struggle might have been postponed. Or if they had been content merely to reign, and not ambitious to rule despotically by "divine right," they would not have precipitated a crisis. But they had neither tact nor patience. They interfered alike with civil and religious liberty. Meanwhile the nation—particularly the middle classes—had become prosperous enough to get restive and intolerant. As Macaulay has said, "During two hundred years all the sovereigns who had ruled England, with the single exception of the unfortunate Henry VI, had been strong-minded, high-spirited, courageous, and of princely bearing. Almost all had possessed abilities above the ordinary level. It was no light thing that, on the very eve of the decisive struggle between our Kings and their Parliaments, royalty should be exhibited to the world stammering, slobbering, shedding unmanly tears, trembling at a drawn sword, and talking in the style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue."

James I nevertheless insisted: 'As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do. I will not be content that my power be disputed on.' So he and his son Charles I levied taxes, appointed and dismissed ministers, followed policies, and summoned or dissolved Parliaments, as it suited their arbitrary wills. When their needs compelled them to go to Parliament for grants of money, the latter bargained for their

rights and liberties which had been trampled upon by their reckless sovereigns. But Charles I, prophetically anticipating what submission to Parliamentary dictation would ultimately end in, declared : ' These being passed, we may be waited on bareheaded, the style of Majesty continued to us, and the King's authority declared by both Houses of Parliament may still be the style of your command, but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King.' Hence, to cut a long story short, he preferred the scaffold to the fate of the House of Windsor. Charles I was executed in 1649 as the climax of Civil War, and England became a republic.

But this proved more a triumph of the Puritan army than a victory for the constitutional and religious liberty of the English people. It directly and immediately resulted in the tyranny of Cromwell (1649-58) which, despite Carlyle's rhapsodies, fastened upon England and Ireland a more insupportable autocracy than that of the Stuarts. His very large standing army and excellent navy, both based on taxation which absolute rule alone could levy, and which rival nations lacked, gave Cromwell and the English power (as Mr. Hilaire Belloc has pointed out)¹ an unrivalled position in Europe. He humiliated Holland, crushed and nettled Ireland and tried to convert England into a vast monastery. The result was that, no sooner than he was dead, England cried "Never again!" In the words of Mr. Somervell, "Cromwell was relegated with Guy Fawkes to the historical Chamber of Horrors, only to be rescued by Carlyle and the Victorian historians."

After the Commonwealth experiment England reverted again to monarchy. The futility of the restored Stuart

1. *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 4.

régime (of Charles II and James II), however, showed that the English monarchy could not be its old self any longer. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 which enthroned the Dutch William III on the Bill of Rights transferred sovereignty from the Crown to the Whig oligarchy. "The new monarch and his successors, since they owed their throne to an Act of Parliament, were clearly devoid of any Divine Right to do what Parliament chose to consider wrong. Yet even so, it may be doubted (says Somervell) if our extraordinary system, whereby kings reign but do not govern, would have established itself if the crown had not been worn in succession by a Dutchman, a woman, two Germans, a king who went mad, a worn-out debauchee, an eccentric, and another woman."¹

The later history of England belongs to another chapter. Here we must refer only to one more landmark in the transition from the Old to the New. George III (1760-1820) was the Hereward the Wake of the Grand Monarchy. The last hopes of the *ancient régime* were extinguished when George III was made to realise that he could not "be a King"; that he could only *reign*, but not *rule*. The close of the eighteenth century in England demonstrated not only that the King could not carry on merely depending on his "friends," but also that no country could rule another against its will.

The climacteric of the Grand Monarchy in Europe was, however, the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789). In its flames was extinguished the Old Order, not merely in France but in most countries of Europe; not merely in the political field but in almost all departments of life. Despite Edmund Burke's declamation against it, the French

1. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 50.

Revolution proved the harbinger of a new and better order in the world. '*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*,' still reverberates among many countries and peoples because of its flaming example. Let us see how it came about.

The fall of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 is usually taken as the beginning of the French Revolution. On that day an infuriated Parisian mob attacked the Bastille—the Central Prison—wherein were incarcerated political offenders no less than ordinary criminals. After a violent and dramatic scene the prisoners were liberated as indiscriminately as they had been arbitrarily locked in. This outburst would not have gained its great reputation in history, but for its being the symptom of deeper causes. France had long been suffering from insupportable social and political burdens under the Grand Monarchy. The nation had been divided into two unequal classes : the rulers and the ruled ; the former, a microscopic minority of hereditary nobles with the King as their patron ; and the latter, the vast masses who groaned under the weight of tyranny. All power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of the upper few ; and the subject classes had only taxation and miserable service for their lot. All high offices, both civil and military, were the monopoly of the *noblesse* who were free from taxation. The poor people, mostly peasants, manned the armies, paid taxes, and rendered compulsory service of a feudal character. Louis XV (1715-74), who succeeded Louis XIV, was a worse man and a worse monarch than his great-grandfather. But all the same, he indulged in all the reckless dreams and adventures of his more capable predecessor. His luxuries, vices, and wars dug deeper the grave of the Grand Monarchy, while the pampered and corrupted nobility, equally purblind, abetted in all the doings of their wicked patron who helplessly but prophetically declared, "*After me the deluge !*"

The deluge came inevitably under the next ruler, the unfortunate Louis XVI (1774-92), who had to pay for the sins of his predecessors with his own life. In this he was most unlike Charles I of England who under similar circumstances had died on the scaffold. Charles Stuart was a sturdy believer in the Divine Right of Kings ; Louis Capet was a well-meaning but will-less victim of circumstances. Charles was a martyr ; Louis was a scapegoat. But both stood athwart the current of a nation's public interest, and both were overwhelmed. Up till then monarchs had victimised nations ; thereafter nations were to victimise monarchs. The fall of the Bastille was, therefore, only a symbolic episode like Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money or the American gesture of throwing away packets of British-borne tea into Boston harbour. Once the turbulent stream burst through its dam, it followed its own course in a hundred different channels.

The root cause of the Revolution, according to Napoleon, was Vanity ; but this word must be understood to comprehend all the sins of Grand Monarchy. Their net result was national bankruptcy ; that is to say, the ruin of public finance. All who stood for the Old Order (King and *noblesse*) desperately sought remedies in fresh schemes of taxation of an already over-taxed people. They had been exploited to the limit of impossibility. "To raise more revenue by taxation," observes Professor Alison Phillips, "was impossible so long as the privileged orders remained exempt ; and successive controllers-general of the finances were driven to the ruinous expedient of borrowing in order to cover the ordinary expenses of the State. Those who, like Turgot, tried to cure the evil at its source were broken by Court intrigues ; Turgot fell in 1776, after scarce two years in office ; Necker, the Swiss banker, whose supposed finan-

cial genius it was hoped would save the State, resigned in 1781 without having been able to remedy the evils which he recognized. When his successors, Calonne and Loménie de Brienne, resorted to desperate measures to raise money, they were met by the obstruction of the Parlement, which reached the zenith of its popularity when, in 1788, it refused to register royal decrees imposing new stamp duties on the ground that the right to agree to taxation belonged to the States-General alone."¹

That body, which corresponded to the British Parliament, had not been summoned by the Grand Monarchy for one hundred and seventy-five years. But now it was realised that the general state of the country could not be improved without the States-General or the Estates-General. So it was re-called to Versailles in 1789 with fateful consequences. Under the leadership of Mirabeau it declared itself to be the National Assembly, and drew up the Constitution of 1791. It sought to establish a unicameral legislature with wide powers over every branch of administration. Much under the influence of the English example, since the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it wanted to retain the hereditary monarchy, but make it constitutional. The *bourgeois* constitutionalists of France, like the English Whigs of a century earlier, distrusted the masses, and limited the franchise to those who paid a tax which should be equal to at least three days' wages. This excluded almost half of the citizens,—some of them peasants but most of them artisans.

The National Assembly also drew up a "Declaration of the Rights of Man" like the English Bill of Rights and the first ten amendments of the American constitution. It was a

1. *The French Revolution*, p. 7.

memorable document clearly laying down the principles of the French Revolution. According to it—

‘All persons shall be equally eligible to all dignities, public positions, and occupations, according to their abilities. No person shall be arrested or imprisoned except according to law. Anyone accused of wrongdoing shall be presumed innocent until he is adjudged guilty. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, including his religious views, subject only to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. No one shall be deprived of his property, except for public purposes, and then only after indemnification.’

But, as in all countries, the Radicals were not satisfied. The monarch also miserably blundered in dealing with awkward situations which were bound to arise under such circumstances. The Queen, Marie Antoinette (imperious daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria), by her feminine foibles and utter lack of imagination, alienated the sympathies of her subjects. An appeal to the other monarchs of Europe (Austria and Prussia) to save the Bourbon monarchy only exasperated the French people by wounding their national susceptibilities. The September Massacres, the execution of the King and Queen (1792), the Reign of Terror (1793-94) the Committee of Public Safety which made everybody's life unsafe, the Directory, and finally Napoleon, all followed as a matter of course. Meanwhile, the intoxicated French people, by challenging all established powers and princes in Europe had raised a hornet's nest about their ears. In order to meet this embarrassing situation they submitted to the yoke of Napoleon Bonaparte (1797-1815) who led them to ultimate disaster through a series of brilliant triumphs. But the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Settlement belong to another phase of human history, viz. the making of Modern Europe. Though Napoleon rose to his Imperial throne on the votes

of the people of France, he threatened to re-establish Grand Monarchy. He created a new nobility of service, dependent and loyal ; he suppressed public opinion by secret police, arrests and arbitrary confinements ; journals and newspapers were censored and regulated ; even the schools and churches were converted into pillars of the new despotism which was no better than that of Louis XIV, though it was also no worse.

Under Napoleon France got a strong and centralised government, consolidated the work of the Revolution, codified her laws (the *Code Napoleon*), secured social equality, and trial by jury, a national Church, the Bank of France, and great buildings, roads, canals, etc. But the "successor of Charlemagne" and the Bourbons also created a Legion of Honour, carried the Roman eagles on his military standards, and dreamed of universal sovereignty. "Supreme in France, he would also be supreme in Europe. No lasting peace was possible with such a man, unless the European nations submitted to his will. They would not submit, and as a result the Continent for more than a decade was drenched with blood."¹

However, the Revolution in France had not been in vain. Its principles and spirit pervaded the whole of Europe and still permeate the modern World. Immediately it affected the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Everywhere during the nineteenth century and after it stimulated demand for the abolition of the established privileges of birth, wealth and other characteristics of the *ancient régime*. "The history of the nineteenth century," as Mr. Davies writes, "is one of gradual but very definite advance towards the sovereignty of the people, and a great deal of the progress which

1. Webster, *History of Mankind*, pp. 485-6.

has been made can be traced directly or indirectly to the influence of the French Revolution."¹

The Grand Monarchy was represented in India, as noticed in the last chapter, by the Mughal Emperors. Their best contributions to Indian civilisation were made during the century from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1557-1657). With the accession of the latter monarch there was already a turn in the tide. His reign of half-a-century was marked by a strong sectarian reactionarism, which was the beginning of the decline. It provoked far-reaching and equally powerful reactions in the Hindu community. Particularly under the gifted leadership of the Great Shivaji (1646-80), the Marathas—a community of peaceful peasants—were organised into an army of intrepid warriors, even as the Sikh Guru Govind Singh (1676-1708) converted (to use his own significant expression) 'jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' Just as the political or constitutional opposition to the Stuart régime in England and the national revolt of the Dutch against Spanish domination in Europe during the same century (1648) had been reinforced by religious antagonism, so in India the religious opposition roused by Aurangzeb culminated in a national revolt against the Mughal dynasty. Even the Rajputs who had initially borne the brunt of the Muslim advance into India in the earlier centuries had been cajoled by the liberal policy of Akbar; but they were once again provoked into hostility by Aurangzeb, under the heroic leadership of Durgadas and Ajit Singh (1679-1707). Finally, this politico-religious war of the Hindus against the Muslim conquerors of India terminated in the overthrow of the Mughal Grand Monarchy which had, since the death of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah I (1712),

1. H. A. Davies, *An Outline History of the World*, p. 445.

fallen on evil days. Fratricidal wars of succession, rebellions by insubordinate governors, enervating luxuries and vices, and frequent attacks by external enemies like Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Marathas, and the English, all combined to destroy their *ancient régime*. On the other hand, the English who had successfully outrivalled the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, opened a new chapter in Indian history when they established themselves firmly in Bengal after their victories at Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764). Indeed, the prophecy attributed to the Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur was being fulfilled : when he was charged by Aurangzeb with peering into the imperial seraglio from his prison-cell in Delhi, the prophetic Sikh Guru is said to have declared : "I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from behind the seas to tear down thy hangings and destroy thy empire." Whether this story is true or false, the fall of the Old Order in India was to be brought about by the Europeans.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

The French Revolution with its attendant wars which culminated in the Treaties of Vienna, marked the founding of a New Europe conspicuously different from that which had preceded it.—F. J. C. HEARNshaw

Modern Europe is the product of several historical processes : religious, political, and economic. In religion we have already described the division of Europe into Catholic and Protestant, apart from the Eastern (Greek) and Western (Roman) branches of the former, and the Lutheran, Calvinist and Zwinglian divisions of the latter. Broadly speaking, the religious struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation forces—on a European scale—reached its climax in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) of which the main theatre was Central Europe. It began as a small dispute over the accession of a Spanish Roman Catholic prince to the throne of Bohemia (present Czecho-Slovakia), but soon developed into a European war in which several countries were involved. The political issue was eclipsed by religious differences, in which, Catholic Spain and Austria (united under the Hapsburgs) had to fight the Protestant combination of North Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England. France, though Catholic, joined the latter group for political reasons : she hated the Hapsburgs and wanted to extend her national boundaries to the Rhine if

possible. The great leader of the 'Catholic League' was the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37), and of the 'Protestant Union' Frederick the Elector Palatine (son-in-law of James I of England). Owing to the skilful diplomacy of the French minister Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden)—the greatest general of the age—assumed command of the Protestant forces, and won the "crowning mercy" of the struggle at the battle of Lützen (near Leipzig) in 1632, against Wallenstein the Catholic commander. Gustavus, however, died a heroic death in the hour of victory: being surrounded by the enemy who ultimately killed him, he declared, "I am King of Sweden, who do seal the religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood." Though the struggle continued after this, until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and Germany was ravaged by hostile forces, the Thirty Years' War closed with the assurance of religious and political liberty to the Protestant States of North Germany; the Catholic States of the South ranged themselves under Austria; the Bourbons of France scored a fateful ascendancy over the Hapsburgs by securing Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and Sweden was rewarded with certain posts on the Baltic. "Austria, crippled in property, prestige and power, was left faced by an implacable enemy from without—France; and by the growing ambition of an enemy within—Prussia." The Holy Roman Empire—in its Hapsburg *avatar*—was both spiritually and temporally 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within the Austrian border but for its hold on Italy. The future lay with France and Prussia.

The national ascendancy of France began under Louis XIV and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. From the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to the Vienna Settlement (1815) the menace of France was ever present in European

politics. It was a century marked also by the rivalry with the English. The net result for France of Louis XIV's aggressive policy, as we have seen, was the acquisition of Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1648 ; Franche Comte, Strassburg, and Luxemburg in 1684 ; and the placing of his grandson (Philip V) on the throne of Spain in 1700. This last event led to the formation of the Grand Alliance between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy against France and Spain, resulting in the Duke of Marlborough's great series of victories : Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet (reviving the glories of Agincourt, Crecy, and Poitou of the Hundred Years' War). It was during this Spanish Succession War (1700-13) also that England gained Gibraltar and Minorca, two important strategic possessions marking her hegemony in the Mediterranean.

Though the French menace to the peace of Europe appeared to have abated a little after this, it continued to be active elsewhere. England and France were both engaged in a great duel already in India in the East and America in the West. Consequently, when the next occasion arose in the continent of Europe, on account of another Succession War (the Austrian) and its sequel the Seven Years' War, the issues were fought out on three continents : Europe, Asia, and America. In the memorable words of Voltaire, "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and Asia."

The Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI died in 1740 without a male heir to succeed him. Though he had taken care to secure before his death the consent (by the *Pragmatic Sanction*) of most of the rulers of Europe for bestowing the Austrian throne on his daughter Maria Theresa, when he died, Frederick II of Prussia (about whom more later) tried to undermine the position of the young Empress by

making a wanton attack on her dominions (Silesia). France, having already ousted the Hapsburgs from Spain, allied herself with Frederick, hoping thereby to make further encroachments on the Austrian dominions. But, for all her national ambitions, she only earned the enmity of England (who had joined Austria together with Holland) without being able to win from her selfish ally, Prussia, any reward in the shape of territory. The war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. "The real gainer by the war of the Pragmatic Sanction," as Macaulay has said, "had been neither France nor Austria, but the upstart of Brandenburg. France had made great efforts, had added largely to her military glory, and largely to her public burdens; and another had purchased, with floods of the noblest blood, the barren glory of Fontenoy." The result of this disappointment was the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 brought about by the astute diplomacy of the Austrian minister Count Kaunitz: England and France exchanged sides, and began the more decisive combat known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

Frederick, who had become "the Great" by the seizure of Silesia, was allowed to retain his ill-gotten gains by the iniquitous Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was forced upon helpless Austria by the selfish hurry of England and France to get out of their thankless alliances. But the proud daughter of the Cæsars, Maria Theresa, was far from reconciling herself to her loss. Moreover, both England and France on account of their commercial and colonial rivalries, were yet to compose their national quarrels. Hence the eight years of 'restless peace' (1748-56) soon burst into the blood-stained years of the Seven Years' War. The original issue about Silesia between the principals (Austria and Prussia) was drowned in the larger issues of the allies (England

and France). An unofficial struggle had continued in the meanwhile in India and America between the two latter powers. The official war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris which declared once for all the supremacy of the British, both in India and America, over their French rivals. Clive had already frustrated the designs of Dupleix at Arcot in India in 1751 ; in 1760 again Colonel Coote defeated the French at Wandewash ; and in the fateful year of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) the crowning glory of the English triumph was marked by the capture of Pondicherry. In America the English won Canada on the "Heights of Abraham," when the heroic Wolfe laid down his life while capturing Quebec (1759). The Peace of Paris which clinched the duel between England and France was the first great triumph of the Anglo-Saxons. Its next phase was revealed in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic struggle.

France sought to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War by helping the American Colonies at a critical stage of their revolt (1775-83) against the tyranny of George III's government. But this only reacted upon herself in a double manner : it increased her national debt on the one hand, and on the other, precipitated her Revolution by the inspiration of U. S. A.'s successful example. In the course of that Revolution itself she further tried to take revenge on both Austria and Prussia for being abettors of the *ancient régime*. Though immediately successful, France had to pay for it heavily after her defeat at Waterloo (1815)

The French Revolution in the beginning had evoked sympathy and even enthusiasm in some quarters, such as Wordsworth felt when he wrote :

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

But the excesses of the extremists, culminating in the Reign

of Terror, brought about a complete revulsion of feeling. The Emperor Leopold of Austria had issued a manifesto as early as 1790 inviting all civilised nations to unite against the common danger. Two years later Austria and Prussia formed an alliance which was before long to develop into the biggest coalition ever formed in Europe against a single nation. Yet the revolutionary fervour was so great that the French won striking victories (Valmy and Jemappes) which brought the southern part of the Netherlands under their sway. In 1793 was formed the First Coalition between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the Papal States; though by 1796 Austria and England were left alone to carry on the war.

Napoleon made his mark at Toulon in 1795; he was one of the Consuls in 1799; Consul for life in 1802; and Emperor in 1804. From 1796-1807 was the period of Napoleon's rise, when his energies were concentrated against Austria. During the next five years (1807-12) he was apparently at the height of his power, when his main objective was to fight Britain; for this were passed the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System organised.¹ The remaining years before he was sent to St. Helena (1812-15) formed the period of his fall. We have no space here for even a rapid sketch of his meteoric career. Moreover, since his entire reordering of the map of Europe was to be washed off by the Vienna Settlement in 1815, we might content ourselves with noting the reactions that followed his overthrow.

Napoleon, "the child of the Revolution," had also made himself the father of an Imperial system wherein 'republics'

1. The purpose of these was to exclude Britain from all intercourse with the continent of Europe.

and princedoms were subjected to the common foreign yoke which at once ignored and evoked national consciousness and the democratic spirit of self-determination. But before we trace the history of these two 'main currents' of nineteenth century European life, it is necessary to look at the earlier growth of at least two other countries, viz. Prussia and Russia.

Germany, as we know her to-day, is a product of the nineteenth century. Even at the time of the Vienna Congress (1814-15) that country was a congeries of over three hundred and fifty kingdoms and principalities, of which Prussia was undoubtedly the most pre-eminent. On that historic occasion their number was reduced to thirty-nine states (by combining small states together) and they were given a formal unity under a Confederation with a common Diet (Parliament) at Frankfort. The real consolidation of Germany was brought about by the ruling House of Hohenzollern whose family history reached back to the twelfth century. Frederick the Great, mentioned earlier in this chapter, belonged to this family which particularly came into prominence after the Thirty Years' War, under Frederick William, known as the Great Elector (1640-88). He was only the Duke of Brandenburg (subject to the King of Poland) to begin with; but through war and diplomacy he considerably increased the possessions and prestige of his House, the greatest of his acquisitions being Prussia. By internal reforms such as improvement of taxation, communications, irrigation, encouragement of education, industry and agriculture, etc. he enhanced the importance of Brandenburg-Prussia in all Germany (which also contained other States like Bavaria and Saxony). His successor, Frederick II (1688-1713), earned the title of "King" from the Emperor Leopold I of Austria. His

son, Frederick William I (1713-40), was the father of Frederick the Great (1740-86). These two Fredericks are indeed one of the most interesting pair of rulers in all history. No two princes were more unlike in their characters than these, father and son; and yet, both alike eminently succeeded in making Prussia and the Hohenzollerns respected, feared, and hated, at first in Germany and then in all Europe. Frederick William, by his parsimony and careful administration earned for himself the reputation of being "the greatest internal king of Prussia." At the same time he was one of the most quixotic of all monarchs. He had a miserly love for soldiers, sixty thousand of whom he recruited from all parts of the world, drilled and trained them most efficiently, but would not waste them in any war! At home he was a tyrant and the treatment he accorded to his son was such that, as Macaulay has put it, "Oliver Twist in the parish workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir apparent of a crown." Frederick (the son), being the very antithesis of his father, sought refuge in flight, but was caught and condemned to death for his attempted desertion. He was saved from this calamity only by the timely intercession of all the potentates of Europe. "Salvation belongs to the Lord," declared Frederick William, "and everything else is my affair."

No sooner did the young Frederick succeed to the throne of Prussia (1740) than he thought of making good use of his father's "darling army." His philosophy was: "As to dominions, take what you can; you are only wrong when you are compelled to make restitution." So he invaded Silesia and began the 'Austrian Succession War' (1740-48) which led on to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) with consequences already described. Internally also he fol

lowed the traditional policy of his family and earned for himself the title of Frederick the Great—the maker of Modern Germany. With all his faults Frederick had a high conception of the office of monarchs. “The monarch,” he declared, “is only the first servant of the State, who is obliged to act with probity and prudence, and to remain as totally disinterested as if he were each moment liable to render an account of his administration to his fellow-citizens. . . . The prince is to the nation he governs what the head is to the man ; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community, that he may procure it every advantage of which it is capable.” He was unsparing in the pursuit of this ideal, though he never cared what means he had to adopt to secure the end.

In our survey of Grand Monarchy we referred to Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725). Though Russia was always under monarchical despotism until its overthrow in 1918, we must content ourselves here with only a few typical examples. The Romanoffs came to the throne of Russia in 1613. Even before that the Grand Dukes of Moscow, like Ivan the Terrible, had already consolidated the absolutism of the ruling family at the expense of the *boyars* (barons). But the country had grown without coming to maturity as it were. Russia was very backward in all respects. She was more Asiatic than European. So when Peter became the Czar in 1696 he decided that his country ought to turn to the West rather than to the East for inspiration. He personally travelled widely in Germany, Holland, England, and greatly admired their progress. Keenly desirous of reforming his own subjects along their lines, he imported into Russia engineers, workmen, and teachers in all departments, from the countries he had visited. In his zeal for reform Peter toiled like a common workman in field

and factory, cut off with his own hands the flowing beards, moustaches, and robes of his nobles—as marks of the Orientals—,compelled women to come out of their seclusion, and built a new capital (St. Petersburg) to counteract the influence of conservative Moscow. Peter indeed wanted to “open a window” in the West; for Russia, in spite of her size (more than equal to all the other countries of Europe put together), was ice-bound in the North, had no access to the sea either in the West or South, while Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Turkey blocked her ways of expansion. Her history, ever since the days of Peter the Great, has therefore been one of conflict with all these powers.

In order to establish contact with the West, Peter at first tried to secure access to the Baltic. Here he found a formidable opponent in Charles XII of Sweden who displayed the military prowess of an Alexander the Great. Russia formed an alliance with Poland and Denmark to overpower Sweden, but only discovered that Charles was more than a match for all of them together. To create a diversion for Peter in the South, Charles also incited the Turks against Russia. However, when Charles died (1718), Russia made a Treaty with Sweden by which she gained Livonia, Esthonia, and other Swedish provinces at the eastern end of the Baltic. Her attempt to secure a foothold in the South at the expense of Turkey created the “Eastern Question” which will be dealt with later.

The ‘spiritual’ successor of Peter the Great in the pursuit of his European policy was Catherine II (1762-96). A German by birth she extended and established foreign influence within Russia. This had both good and evil results of a far-reaching character. ‘Adventurous, ambitious, despotic, corrupt, she sought by every available means to continue the work of making Russia a supreme European

power.' She evinced considerable interest in the great intellectual movements of Western Europe represented by men like Diderot and Voltaire (even like her contemporary Frederick the Great), and professed high-sounding political principles: 'the nation,' she said, 'is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation;' 'liberty,' she defined, 'is the right to do anything that is not forbidden by law;' 'better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer unjust punishment.' But her practice was a negation of all these doctrines. The sincerest devotee of the Enlightened Despotism of the eighteenth century in Europe was Catherine's Austrian contemporary Joseph II (1765-90), but he died a disappointed man. Catherine, while she brought large accession of territory and power to Russia (particularly by her share in the three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795), she was one of the strongest haters of the new forces released by the French Revolution. Her imbecile son Paul I (1796-1801) was assassinated by a coterie of her own courtiers. But the next ruler of Russia, Alexander I (1801-25), became famous as the protagonist of "Legitimism" in Europe. The triple pillars of this anti-Revolutionary movement were the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

We have already referred to the immediate reactions of Austria and Prussia to the revolutionary outbreak in France. The challenge of Leopold II (brother and successor of Joseph II) to the revolutionaries was reinforced by alliances, at first with Prussia, then with Russia, England, and all the rest of Europe. The ultimate result was the defeat of Napoleon and the humiliation of France in the Vienna Settlement. This settlement was as fateful in consequences as that of Utrecht a century earlier (1713) and Versailles a century later (1918). The high-priest of the Vienna

Congress was the Austrian statesman Metternich. Few men have exercised such powerful influence over the destinies of a continent like this Napoleon of diplomacy. The mere fact that Metternich presided over the deliberations of this most momentous gathering, where almost all the potentates of Europe were personally present, is sufficient indication of his importance. Next to him was Talleyrand the representative of France who put forward the doctrine of "Legitimacy" which formed the sheet-anchor of the Congress. That assembly was as reactionary as it was pompous; it was throughout marked by secret diplomacy and the domination of the big powers, as by 'an uninterrupted festival of extraordinary brilliance.' It trampled under foot the principles of nationalism, democracy and liberalism, as dangerous innovations, and reconstructed the map of Europe heedless of nationality. France was deprived of all her revolutionary and Napoleonic conquests and the reactionary Bourbon Louis XVIII (brother of Louis XVI who had "forgotten nothing and could forgive nothing") was foisted upon the throne of his ancestors; incompatibles like Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, were bound together irrespective of the aspirations of their peoples; likewise the Machiavellian "Partitions" of Poland were confirmed to their foreign masters; Austria was allowed to dominate over dismembered Italy; and the gains of Great Britain were guaranteed to that country. While everyone, with the exception of France, got something, no one was satisfied.

The first outward manifestation of the spirit of the Congress was the formation of the Quadruple Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England. Its ostensible purpose was the defence of the Settlement; but in reality it sought to be the bulwark of reactionary "Legitimism." When England saw this sinister tendency, which was a negation

of all her liberal principles, she withdrew from the 'concert of Europe' and allowed her allies to cling to their Holy Alliance under the ægis of Czar Alexander I who had been privately characterised at the Congress of Vienna as "half fool, half Bonaparte."

It has been well observed by Professor Morse Stephens, that "The doctrines of the French Revolution did more than the victories of Napoleon to destroy the political system of the eighteenth century."¹ In the so-called Holy Alliance eighteenth century dynasticism was on its last legs. The subsequent history of Europe during the nineteenth century marks the triumph of Nationalism, Democracy, Liberalism, in country after country. We have room here only to record the results. For a fuller study of this great theme the reader must go to larger works. When Paris hath a cold, it is said, the whole of Europe sneezes. But we might as well say that whenever there is to be a political earthquake in Europe it is first indicated by the French seismograph.

There were national and democratic risings all over Europe in 1830 and 1848. In the first series, Greece won her independence from Turkey when the English poet Byron sacrificed himself at the altar of Hellenic liberation. In France, the restored Bourbon régime was once more overthrown in favour of the Orleanist "citizen king" Louis Philippe, who was crowned King "by the grace of God and *by the will of the people*." At the same time, Catholic Belgium regained her national independence from Protestant Holland, and her integrity was guaranteed by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. There were also significant repercussions in Poland, Italy, Spain, and England. During the

1. *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 3.

second wave of 1848, Louis Philippe was overthrown in France and the Second Republic was established under the presidency of Louis Napoleon who rapidly grew into (Napoleon III) the image of his greater namesake ; in Prussia, there were riots demanding freedom of the press, trial by jury, religious toleration, etc. ; in the Austrian dominions, the Slavs of Bohemia, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Latins of Italy, broke into rebellion and Metternich was obliged to seek safety in England (the last refuge of all exiles) ; in Germany, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein tried to overthrow the Danish yoke with the assistance of Prussia. Italy (with the exception of Venetia and the Papal States), through the inspiration of Mazzini, the diplomacy of Cavour, and the martial vigour of Garibaldi, became a united and independent Kingdom under the patriotic monarch Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, in 1861. Within ten years of this (1871) Germany under her Prussian King William (Wilhelm) I realised her dream of union with the help of her "iron Chancellor" Bismarck. This was achieved at the expense of Denmark, Austria, and France, with all of whom Prussia waged war. "The German problem," Bismarck had bluntly declared, "cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron." But this policy, according to

The good old plan
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can,

only resulted in a situation well described by the German general von Moltke in the Reichstag shortly after the conclusion of peace: "We have earned in the late war respect, but hardly love. What we have gained by arms in six months we shall have to defend by

arms for fifty years." Europe has not yet got out of the hole Bismarck put her into.

Austria was defeated by Prussia in the battle of Sadowa in 1866. This resulted in the separation of the North German Confederation from the Austrian 'Empire'. Next year, 1867, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was formed which lasted till the Great War (1914-18). France was defeated at Sedan in 1870, and Napoleon III abdicated. Paris surrendered, after a siege of four months, on January 28, 1871. In the peace that followed, France paid to Prussia a heavy war indemnity, and ceded to her the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These were the seeds of the Great War of 1914-18. France formally inaugurated her Third Republic in 1875.

In Eastern Europe also the Russian policy of expansion had, in the meanwhile, culminated in the Crimean War of 1854-56. Turkey—"the sick man of Europe"—being subjected to a similar operation by Russia as that of Poland, was doctored back into life by England and France. But there was again a relapse in 1875 owing to the Balkan States catching infection from Russia. This once more brought the 'Colossus of the North' down to the gates of Constantinople, and Britain ordered two war-vessels to enter the Dardanelles 'for the protection of life and property.' But ultimately, through one of the most thrilling diplomatic manoeuvres recorded in history, war was averted. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, brought relief to the Balkans, and 'peace with honour' to England; but it also transferred the attention of Russia from the Near to the Far East.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

Vigour—physical and intellectual. Trade, or material profit of some kind. Religion. Science. Here are the elements contributing to the Expansion of the West.—F. S. MARVIN

If in the above enumeration of the elements contributing to the Expansion of Europe the reader discovers the significant omission of 'politics', it may at once be pointed out that the political expansion of the West has itself been the almost inevitable product of the elements of Mr. Marvin's analysis. In describing the making of modern Europe we had necessarily to concentrate, in the last chapter, on political reconstruction—both external and internal—in that continent. The National and Democratic movements dealt with therein were wider and deeper than it has been possible for us to indicate in our brief survey. The forces underlying those upheavals and the far-reaching consequences on humanity must be studied more carefully here. We shall find it convenient to consider the Expansion of Europe first in the material sense, and then in the intellectual.

The history of the World traced by us so far has revealed to us several movements of populations from country to country and continent to continent. These movements were due to several causes, such as the excessive growth of population beyond the means of subsistence, the nomadic instinct that drove barbarian hordes from place to place out of sheer

restlessness, and the needs of commerce with ever-expanding markets.

The earliest example of European expansion abroad is found in the piratical adventures of the Norsemen who seem to have reached the northern parts of North America long before Columbus re-discovered that continent for the modern world. During the Middle Ages, Europe was already enough accustomed to the spices and luxuries of the East to feel the urge to explore new routes thereto. That impulse was further reinforced by the Turkish blockade of the 'Near East' culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The discoveries of da Gama and Columbus shifted the high-roads of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, while at the same time the primacy in world trade passed from the Venetians and the Arabs to the Portuguese and the Spaniards. And lastly, the division of the globe between these two nations by authority of Pope Alexander VI, no less than the religious zeal of the Portuguese and Spaniards themselves, gave to European expansion in the Old and New worlds the dual impetus of commerce and Christianity.

When the Reformation movement divided Europe into Catholic and Protestant, the latter group of nations—particularly the Dutch and the English—challenged the monopoly of the Iberian pioneers and soon undermined their positions in East and West alike. The Dutch broke through the Portuguese monopoly in Asia, and the English overthrew the Spanish in America. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 was indeed a great turning point: it destroyed the political prestige of Spain and marked the naval ascendancy of England.

With the accession of the Stuarts to the English throne (1603) an era of peace with Spain ensued, but a new rivalry with the Dutch in the East Indies started. Within twenty

years it culminated in the tragedy of Amboyna (1623) where the infuriated Dutch murdered ten Englishmen and tortured several others. Though this 'massacre' resulted in driving the English out of the Archipelago, it proved a blessing in disguise, for it gave them India. The quarrel with the Dutch nearer home led to the passing of the important Navigation Act of 1651, which provided that all goods imported into England must be carried either in English bottoms or in the ships of the country which produced them. The Dutch tried to defy this law and presumptuously sailed up the Thames with brooms attached to their mast-heads to signify their determination to sweep the English from the seas. But they were defeated all the same, and had to accept the Navigation Act confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster, 1654.

Another aspect of the contemporary scene which had momentous results may also be referred to here. The Spanish and Portuguese successes in South America had aroused the greed of the English, the Dutch, and the French, leading to international conflicts, organised piracy, and the foundation of colonies in the remaining parts of that continent. Emigration from Europe was further stimulated by the religious policies of monarchs during the Reformation period; the victims of persecution sought refuge in exile in the New World. The stream thus started was fed by a variety of causes all of which contributed to the permanent occupation of America by the Europeans. The details of the process must be read elsewhere. For our present purpose a record of the result alone should suffice.

The Portuguese had occupied Brazil and the Spaniards Mexico and Peru. Out of this nucleus grew up the Republics of South America. The Dutch were among the earliest in the race for North America, but their main objectives being

in the East, they were soon outstripped in the West by the English and the French. The river Hudson had been explored (1609) by an Englishman of that name, in the Dutch service. New York and New Jersey were originally Dutch New Amsterdam, but acquired by the English under Charles II who commissioned his brother, the Duke of York, to occupy them (1664). Meanwhile, the English colonies, founded by the "Pilgrim Fathers" who sailed in the *Mayflower* (1620),—New England—had grown into a powerful group; while the French had likewise flourished round about Quebec. Out of their worldwide rivalries (referred to in the previous chapter) England emerged triumphant at the end of the Seven Years' War which closed with the Treaty of Paris (1763). That gave the English their Indian Empire and Canada. Though at that time they also owned the present United States of America, these were lost in consequence of the American War of Independence (1776-83) which terminated with the Treaties of Paris and Versailles. This eventful victory of the settlers had important and varied consequences: (1) it created the independent U. S. A.; (2) it precipitated the Revolution in France; (3) it brought to an end the "old colonial policy" in England no less than the last bid for personal rule made by the English monarchs. Turgot's dictum that 'colonies are like fruit which drop off from the stem when they ripen' was proved true at least in this important case. More than anything else, the American Revolution convinced England of what Chatham had meant when he warned his countrymen saying: "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The great hero of the American triumph was George Washington, about whom the English historian John Richard Green has written:

"No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life, 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen'."

The victory of the U. S. A. had also important repercussions in South America. Napoleon Bonaparte had overthrown the Bourbon ruler of Spain and seated his own brother Joseph on that throne, but the Spanish colonists in South America refused to acknowledge the usurper. Under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, etc. asserted their independence even when the old dynasty was restored in the mother country (under Ferdinand VII). Mexico too became independent in 1821, but fell a prey to continued disorder. The Portuguese colonists of Brazil likewise set up an independent State in 1822, with Don Pedro as their King. The further history of Latin America is too complicated to be dealt with here. But two facts may be noted : (1) All the colonies set up republican governments before the close of the century ; (2) the U. S. A. proclaimed the famous "Monroe doctrine" when the European Powers tried to meddle in their affairs. It laid down :

'In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle

in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers.'

For the next great European advance we must turn to the continents of Africa and Asia during the nineteenth century. We must necessarily skip over the thrilling stories of exploration, discovery, and adventure, and concentrate only on the bare enumeration of results. David Livingstone (1849-73), a Scotch missionary who crossed the entire Dark Continent from sea to sea, is one of the best known of Africa's explorers. Mission work went hand in hand in Africa with geographical discovery. While Islam made its home in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt, in Abyssinia, Siberia, and South Africa Christianity succeeded in establishing itself; the rest of Africa remained heathen.

Almost all the European nations participated in the exploitation of Africa. Particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a regular scramble for its tempting profits. In the past, Africa had provided the richest quarry for slaves; in more recent times it has been valued for rubber, ivory, diamonds, gold, and other rich natural products of a tropical continent. The Spaniards now hold the northern coast of Morocco; Portugal holds Angola and Portuguese East Africa; Belgium holds Congo; France owns Algeria, Tunis, most of Morocco, the valleys of the Senegal and Upper Niger, part of the Guinea coast, French Somaliland, and Madagascar. Germany and Italy were late in entering the arena. Frederick the Great had declared: "All distant possessions are a burden to the State. A village on the frontier is worth a principality two hundred and fifty miles away." Even Bismarck con-

sidered himself a 'no colony man'. All the same, Germany after her unification took the coastland of South-West Africa north of the Orange River, the Cameroons and East Africa. All of these, however, were taken away from Germany by the Allies in the Great War of 1914-18. Italy, though late in entering the field, secured Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Libya (1912), and last of all (1936) Abyssinia.

Though France has the lion's share of territory in Africa, Great Britain is important in point of power. Besides extensive possessions on the Guinea coast, she owns a solid block of territory stretching right through the continent from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean. The gold mines of the Transvaal and the diamond mines of Kimberley have rendered these colonies invaluable. Together with Cape Colony, Natal, and Orange Free State, they constitute the Union of South Africa. To these must be added Rhodesia (acquired by Cecil Rhodes), Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (conquered by Kitchner), and the German colonies (S. W. and E. Africa) won during the Great War. Britain also controls Egypt and has a decisive share in the control of the Suez Canal (constructed in 1869 by the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps). This, together with the Cape-to-Cairo Railway (7000 miles)—the product of the enterprise of Cecil Rhodes—has given Britain great commercial and strategic advantages.

The opening up and partition of Asia must be reserved for another chapter, as it inevitably led to the awakening of the slumbering East, which is too large and important a subject to be dealt with here. We might more coherently proceed in this chapter with the further phases of the European expansion in the West, such as Industrialism and its attendant reactions: intellectual and political.

Modern industrialism which has given a new trend to

human civilisation had its birth in England in the eighteenth century. That movement is usually referred to as the Industrial Revolution. Though of late some writers have criticised the use of the term "Revolution" as being too misleading, no more suggestive or comprehensively adequate expression has been found. Equally misleading is it to suggest that the Industrial Revolution began in a particular year or even decade. But considering that the several important things which gave it its peculiar character occurred all together in a crowded fifty years or so, it would not be wrong to assign the genesis of this great movement to the latter half of the eighteenth century. That was also the period of other momentous happenings such as the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution.

While all wars are expensive and disastrous in their consequences, England has enjoyed certain peculiar advantages on account of her geographical situation. The immunity from foreign invasion which she has enjoyed through several centuries, and her naval supremacy, have alike enabled her to develop her political and economic life along her own lines, undisturbed by any external power. On the other hand, she has found it especially possible for her to strike at all her enemies without being hurt to the same extent. Thus she was able to destroy the power of France in the series of wars which ended with Waterloo. Whereas these wars disorganised the entire economic life of the Continent, they afforded a unique opportunity to English commerce and industry which flourished despite the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System of Napoleon. It was this rare stimulus which quickened the pace of English industry to such an extent, towards the close of the eighteenth century, that it almost looked like a *revolution*. In the words of

Professor Hammond, "That revolution was marked by the dissolution of the old village, by the transformation of the textile industries, by changes of a different kind in the pottery industries, and by a great concentration of capital and power in the industries connected with iron, steel, and coal."¹ In short, that revolution converted England from being the "granary of the North" (as the Romans had found her) into the Workshop of the World.

It was under these circumstances that a series of mechanical inventions appeared: Hargreave's "spinning jenny" in 1764, Arkwright's "water frame" in 1769, Crompton's "mule" in 1779, Cartwright's "power loom" in 1785, Whitney's "gin" in 1792, etc. And more than anything else, the application of steam power to all departments of industry, including manufacture as well as transport,—rendered possible by the genius of Watt (1769) and Stephenson (1814)—ushered in the era of large-scale production and distribution with all their inevitable consequences. It is impossible even to summarise the salient features of this Revolution within the space at our disposal. It has made the Modern World what it is. A more adequate idea of its complexities will be gained from a later chapter. Suffice it here to observe that we owe all our comforts, conflicts, dangers, and outlooks to what was happening in the Western World during the past two hundred years or so.

One important aspect of these changes, however, may be particularly noted. English policy in India was largely affected by the growing demand in England for raw-materials and markets for her finished goods. "England was now producing," says Professor Hammond, "something that India could buy. A British government was not likely to

1. J. L. Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 2.

treat a distant community that had come under its control more unselfishly than it had treated the British Colonies in America. Heavy duties were placed upon Indian cottons and silks in the Home tariff, and when the Indian market, hitherto the monopoly of the East India Company, was thrown open in 1813, the duties imposed on cotton goods entering India were merely nominal. In 1831 a petition was presented from natives of Bengal, complaining without success of the British duty of 10 per cent. on manufactured cottons, and 24 per cent. on manufactured silks. The effect of political control, combined with the inventions, was seen in the figures of our trade with India.¹ If India had been in the hands of a rival Power anxious either to develop a new cotton industry of its own, or to develop a native cotton industry in India, Lancashire would not have found so rich a market for her yarn and piece-goods."

The social and political effects of the Industrial Revolution in England itself were profound and interesting. The rapid advance of the "enclosure" movement, the improved methods of agriculture, and the introduction of machinery, alike contributed to immediate social disorganisation. While on the one hand the population of England was growing on account of her increasing prosperity, widespread unemployment and misery were also caused by several changes coming in at the same time on the other. The surplus population, including a large number of criminals, after being swept into the army and navy (for which there was great demand on account of the various wars) was still available for colonisation abroad. The epoch-making discoveries of Captain Cook (1769-79) made Australia readily

1. In 1815, 800,000 yards of British cotton cloth were imported in India; in 1830, 45,000,000 yards.—*Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

available for the purpose. Before the United States became independent America had been used as the 'Andamans' of Great Britain. Australia soon received such a large population of criminals that crime offered no means of livelihood to the immigrants there. Hence the deportation of undesirables from England proved a double blessing : it blessed them that went, and them that sent. The well-known words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux with reference to the recruits for the Second Crusade may very well be applied to the founders of the Australian colony : 'In the countless multitude you will find few except the utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides, and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them ; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there.'

There was also a great shifting of populations within the country. People began to crowd into the industrial cities. The evils of the Factory System manifested themselves before its benefits were appreciated by the people at large. The New Industry like the New Agriculture seemed to profit only the rich at the expense of the poor. The tyranny of William Pitt's war-régime made the transition less bearable. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had transferred power from the King to an Oligarchy of landlords. Now a new nobility arose among the industrial and commercial magnates to compete with them. The great discontent was allayed to a certain extent only in the era of reform that followed in the wake of Napoleon's defeat.

The nineteenth century was eminently an Age of Liberalism, though the Liberals were not always and everywhere in power. The Conservatives withstood as much as they dared, and the Radicals exacted as much as they could. Though gradualism held the balance, on the whole, free-

dom was broadening from precedent to precedent. It was the age during which the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had taken place in the continent of Europe. In England it was marked by a series of long needed reforms. Constitutionally there were the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, by which the political franchise was extended down to the urban and rural workers. In other directions it brought religious toleration (Catholic Emancipation Act), Poor Laws for the relief of the distressed, education for the masses, criminal law reform, factory legislation, Public Health Acts, attempts to conciliate Ireland (Home Rule Bills), the abolition of slavery, the extinction of the East India Company with its sequel of political and social reform in India, the development of the Press, local self-government, and Self-Government for the Dominions.

England has been to the Modern World what Athens was to the Ancient. Ideas, movements, and happenings in that Island sooner or later reflected themselves in the rest of the world. England achieved parliamentary Democracy and all other countries have been striving ever since to emulate her example. England started the Industrial Revolution and the whole world is still being transformed to her pattern. England grew Imperialist and turned to Federalism for finding liberty in union, and nations are still trying to walk in her footsteps. Just as Rome and Christianity gave unity to Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, so England and Science have imparted unity to Western Civilisation in later times. Hence the very large claim of England on our attention in dealing with the Expansion of Europe. Fuller and deeper implications of this theme will be brought out in the succeeding chapters.

A hand-drawn map of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania. The map shows the Pacific Ocean to the east, the Indian Ocean to the south, and the Gobi Desert in the northwest. Key regions labeled include the Soviet Union, Mongolia, China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Australia. Major cities like Peking, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Sydney are marked. The map is drawn with simple black outlines and some internal shading for Australia and New Guinea.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

AWAKENING OF THE EAST

If the nineteenth century was the opportunity of the West, the twentieth is for the East. Concentrated in its eastern and southern fringe, Asia holds well over half the inhabitants of the globe ; and this vast population is astir.—E. B. MITFORD

Like Germany, France, and England in Europe, India, China, and Japan hold the destiny of Asia in their hands. Apart from their contributions to civilisation in the ancient times, these countries have influenced human history in every succeeding age. Their importance has increased instead of diminishing in the modern world. During the period of great activity on the part of Europe, Asia appeared to be comparatively sluggish if not altogether dormant. But there is always a 'tide in the affairs of men', and Europe took it at the flood particularly since the Renaissance. Europe then awoke from the long slumbers of the Dark Ages and entered upon a great creative epoch. She discovered new continents, both geographical and intellectual. In her age of expansion she inundated the whole world. We have watched her activities in Europe, Africa, and America. We must now turn to Asia.

The first Asiatic country to come under European control was India. We have already spoken of the fall of the Mughal Empire, and alluded to the rivalries between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English

in the East. That is a familiar tale. Its importance for us lies in the consequences. The Seven Years' War definitely marked the ascendancy of England. Though England lost the American colonies (U. S. A.) after this, she was more than compensated for that loss by her acquisition of India. The work begun at Arcot, Plassey, and Buxar in the days of Clive in the eighteenth century was completed in the nineteenth by Wellesley and Dalhousie. The final overthrow of the Marathas (1818) who had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mughals was not less significant than the overthrow of Napoleon (1815) only three years earlier: both marked a new era—one in India and the other in Europe. The pretensions of the Peshwa and the Mughal Emperor were simultaneously extinguished in the Great Rising of 1857. It is also not to be forgotten that the 'Honourable John Company Bahadoor' too was extinguished in that conflagration which illumined the birth of a New India.

Here we must not lose sight of happenings in England and Europe at the same time. It was an epoch of reforms and revolutions, economic, political, and social. Both Nationalism and Democracy (the two great moulding forces of nineteenth century Europe) derived a new impulse and significance from the Industrial Revolution. The economic changes in agriculture, industry, and commerce—confirmed and extended the scope of democracy as well as nationalism. Out of these complex elements was born British Imperialism whose testing crucible has been India. India fed the Industrial Revolution, supplied it raw materials, and provided a vast market for its finished articles, including high employment for the growing population of England. Hence India became indispensable to England, to secure hold over whom she has had to set her policies. Truly in the words of

Lord Curzon : "India is the pivot of our British Empire. If this Empire loses any other part of its Dominions, we can survive. But if we lose India, the sun of our Empire will have set."

But, if Imperialism invaded India, neither could the wave of Liberalism be dammed within the countries of its origin. Steamships, railways, and telegraphs were not calculated to keep the world divided into oases and deserts. British Liberalism was bound to leaven the conquests of British Conservatism. This was the significance of the simultaneous extinction in India of Indian feudalism and the English East India Company's rule. The anomaly of His Majesty's subjects holding sovereign rights (though it be over coloured peoples) was an anachronism that could not be sustained in the nineteenth century. So the Regulating Act (1763) culminated in Her Majesty's Proclamation; the Reforms of 1833 were to end in the demand for *Swaraj*. If England fed on India, she could not also prevent India from feeding on Burke, Bright, and Mazzini. England, while she deliberately destroyed the Old Order in India, also inevitably paved the way of the Indian Renaissance.

We can touch here only on a few phases of the Indian Awakening in the nineteenth century. It was significant that the year of the Great Rising also witnessed the foundation of the three modern Universities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Indian Renaissance has been the product of Western education alone. It has been the resultant of several forces acting at the same time. The Rising of 1857 was more a social revolt than a mere mutiny of the army or even a political rebellion. Its suppression was necessary not only for the security of British rule, but also for the creation of a New India. It was an event as epoch-making for India

and Asia as the fall of the Bastille was for France and Europe. The Rousseau of the Indian Revolution was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833), the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. He was followed by an army of great reformers like Devendra Nath Tagore (Rabindranath's father) and Keshab Chandra Sen in Bengal, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83), the founder of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1900), the founder of the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra. Much useful work in the national uplift was also done by Swami Vivekananda, the apostle of a reformed faith, who carried the message of Awakened India to Europe and America (1895-97). Similar work was done by Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan (1817-98) to put new life into the paralysed Muslim community. He founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (1875) which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University.

Meanwhile the economic exploitation of the country by our foreign rulers was bearing disastrous fruit. Under the East India Company's rule the ancient textile industry of India had been ruthlessly suppressed, so much so, that an English Governor-General reported in 1834 that "the bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." Towards the close of the century, in 1878, Florence Nightingale wrote : "The saddest sight to be seen in the East—nay probably in the world—is the peasant of our Eastern Empire." The terrible famines of 1876-77 and 1896-99 were symptoms of the country's economic anæmia. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was intended to suppress the growing agitation and discontent. Though the benevolent Lord Ripon tried to pacify the people by the repeal of that odious Act (1881) and the grant of Local Self-government (1884), he raised the squall of the Ilbert Bill agitation

on the part of the European community, when he touched the crucial problem of 'justice without colour prejudice'. "The passionate claim of the European to predominance was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality." Under such auspices was born the Indian National Congress in 1885, the one organ that in course of time was to be the champion of Renaissance India—the instrument of the Indian *resorgimento*. Its aims were enunciated as follows :—

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."

Further development of the situation in India will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here we must take note of happenings in the 'Far East', i.e. China and Japan. The problems raised by these two countries—no less than those raised by India—still await solution. Indeed, in the past it looked as if, whatever might happen in the West, the East would remain unalterably fixed and unchanging; but now it appears that, whatever the West may do to prevent or postpone, nothing will remain unchanged in India, China, and Japan. Gulliver has awakened from his sleep and Lilliput must be upset!

We last mentioned China in connexion with Kublai Khan and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. Only two more dynasties (*Ming*, 1368-1644; and *Ching* or *Manchu*, 1644-1912) followed that founded by Kublai Khan, and armies

of European adventurers (missionary, mercantile, and military) came in the wake of Marco Polo. It was all along the story of the Cross followed by a pair of scales enforced by the booming guns. The result was the outcome of the entire historical process in China as well as of the Chinese character. As Bertrand Russell has remarked: "China may be regarded as an artist nation, with the virtues and vices to be expected of the artist: virtues chiefly useful to others, and vices chiefly harmful to oneself."¹ Culture has been China's greatest virtue and disunion her greatest vice. The woes of the Chinese are the product of Western Imperialism acting on a people with a rich inheritance, vast resources, but lacking the security that a strong and united government alone can give.

Under the Ming dynasty the Celestial Empire included the major portion of Asia, excluding only India, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, Asia-Minor, and Japan. The rest—including China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Indo-China, Burma and Tibet—was either directly ruled by the Ming Emperors or subject to them as tributary states. At one time even Nepal was compelled to pay tribute to China for interfering with Tibet across the snow-clad mountains. But such vast territories were a source of weakness rather than strength. The outlying parts were in a chronic state of revolt. The *Tuchuns* or war-lords created a sort of feudal anarchy which the occupants of the Dragon Throne were able to control only occasionally. But despite the constant disturbances and the consequent misery of the people, Chinese pre-occupations with Culture produced such works as the *Encyclopædia* compiled under the Ming Emperor Yung Lo (*Yoong Law*, 1403-25), and the standard *Dictionary* of

1. *The Problem of China*, p. 10.

the Chinese language prepared under the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi (*Hahng Shee*, 1662-1723). The former work comprised 11,000 volumes with a total of 917,486 pages and 366,000,000 words. The Dictionary contained 40,000 words accompanied in each case by appropriate quotations from the works of every age and of every style, chronologically arranged. K'ang Hsi also produced another encyclopædia in 1628 volumes of 200 pages each, whose biographical section alone contained 24,000 lives of eminent women!

The greatest ruler of the Ming dynasty was *Hsiao Tsung* (1488-1506). Under him peace and prosperity reigned in the land. After him began the European race for China. In 1517 two envoys arrived at Nanking, carrying letters from the King of Portugal. Two more came in 1520, but they were all driven away unceremoniously by the Chinese. Eight hundred Portuguese were massacred at Ningpo, a little later, while attempting to land forcibly. However, they succeeded in securing a foothold at Macao in 1550. The first Christian station was founded in Canton in 1579. Matteo Ricci, an enterprising Jesuit missionary, reached Peking in 1601. By his knowledge of Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, and other sciences, he ingratiated himself into the favour of the Emperor and obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres.

The English arrived in Canton in 1637, but they had to sail away without achieving anything. Their first official embassy, however, did not reach the Celestial Emperor until 1792, when the Earl of Macartney came with a request from George III. He too was put off by the Chinese Emperor who roundly declared: "I have no use for your country's manufactures...I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance

of the usages of our Celestial Empire." The Opium Wars (1839-42) were the English reply to this. The English had already long secured a share in the profitable trade with China. Since 1669 their settlement in Canton had been the most flourishing among the European establishments there. By 1833 the East India Company's monopoly in the opium trade with China had become the envy of even their own countrymen at home. In 1839 the Imperial Commissioner, Lin, failing to prevent the foreigners from importing opium into the country (against Imperial orders), forcibly seized large quantities of the drug from Canton and destroyed the same. The English retaliated by waging war against the Chinese who were too weak to resist successfully. After sustaining great losses they submitted to the Treaty of Nanking (1842). By this the English acquired Hong-Kong, the right of residence and trade in Canton, Shanghai, and three other ports, in addition to an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars. This was the real beginning of the European scramble in China and the consequent "opening" of that helpless country, which is still a prey to the predatory incursions of powerful and aggressive nations, including her own neighbour and pupil Japan.

After the Opium Wars events moved rapidly. The English example encouraged other Europeans and America. An internal rising, known as the T'ai-p'ing (Long-haired) Rebellion (1861-64), under the Christian leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (an educated convert), afforded a golden opportunity. The capture of a few Chinese suspects from a ship at Canton flying the British flag, by Commissioner Yeh, was interpreted as an infringement of the Nanking Treaty. War with China was resumed, and further "concessions" were extorted. It was in the course of these hostilities that the English and French acting jointly committed one of the most atrocious

crimes in History—viz. the destruction of the *Yuen-Ming-Yuen* or the Imperial Summer Palace in Peking (1866). Its "artistic value, on account of the treasures it contained," writes Bertrand Russell, "must have been about equal to that of Saint Mark's in Venice and much greater than that of Rheims Cathedral. This act did much to persuade the Chinese of the superiority of our civilization, so they opened seven more ports and the river Yangtse, paid an indemnity and granted us more territory at Hong-Kong."¹ In 1870 the murder of a British diplomat by the exasperated Chinese brought more indemnity, more ports, and a fixed tariff for opium. Then the French occupied Annam and Tongking, and the British took Burma, but of course not without excuse in each case.

Japan, whose awakening we shall deal with presently, also followed too gladly the example of the Europeans. Already she had adopted their methods and begun her bullying and blustering career of imperialistic expansion. Even as early as 1592 she had overrun Korea and killed 38,700 Chinese and Koreans in one battle. On that occasion the Japanese general, Hideyoshi, commemorated his success by cutting off the ears of the fallen and erecting the "Ear Mound" in Tokyo. Now, in 1894, she again invaded Korea, occupied the Liao-tung peninsula (Port Arthur), and compelled China to cede to her the islands of Formosa and Pescadores. But European jealousy prevented Japan from enjoying the full fruits of her victory. Korea was nominally declared independent, and Japan was obliged to withdraw from Port Arthur, though compensated with further indemnity. Russia, Germany, and France were also rewarded for their uncalled for interference. Russia was allowed to build

1. *The Problem of China*, p. 52.

a railway to Vladivostok and Port Arthur, through Manchuria; France to do the same on the Tongking frontier; and Germany obtained railway and mining rights in Shantung. This was the beginning of another spate of greedy scramble on the part of all the imperialistic vultures.

The murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897 provided the much looked for *casus belli*. The Germans seized Kiaochow Bay and created a naval base there. The British thereupon, to hold the balance, leased Wei-hai-wei and established a "defensive circuit" around Hong-Kong; France did the same with Kuang-chow Bay and the southern borders of Yunnan; and Russia in Port Arthur and Talienwan. This last caused Japan such great annoyance that it led to one of the most epoch-making events in History, viz. the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 (which will be dealt with later). For the present she obtained Fukien.

These happenings were not without great repercussions on China. They brought the Chinese Dragon to bay in the famous "Boxer Revolt." It was the Chinese replica of the great Indian Rising of 1857. 'In 1899 the Boxers, or "Fists for Justice and Peace," arose in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely turned into an anti-foreign attack. Spreading over the north-east, it was taken up by the court party and the dowager; many foreigners, mostly missionaries, were killed or officially executed, thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the foreign legations were destroyed, all save the British Legation, which was besieged by the Chinese and relieved by the allied forces on August 14, 1900.'¹ The results of this will be assessed in the next chapter.

The awakening of Japan is unique and unparalleled in

1. Soothill, *A History of China*, pp. 65-6.

human history. Such all round transformation as we find in modern Japan has, no doubt, been accomplished by many another country, but only after a long process of natural evolution as in England, or by violent revolution as in Soviet Russia. In the ancient world, Greece displayed a sudden and surprising gush of energy, after the overthrow of Persia, and created a wonderful culture ; but Greece could never be united. The feeble imperialism of Athens proved abortive in the face of the irrepressible centrifugalism of the Greeks. The Napoleon of Greece (Alexander) was a foreigner, and his work was even less effective than that of the Little Corsican. But we have in modern Japan, the rare combination of the creative energy of the ancient Greeks, the revolutionary fervour of the modern Russian, and the industrial and technical efficiency of the English. And all these characteristics have come to the forefront within less than a century. Indeed, the menace of Japan to-day far from blinding us in respect of these qualities, only sets them off in a lurid light. In the *Awakening of the East*, the rise of Japan, though chronologically the last, has been the most significant and portentous. Since the seeds of the present are imbedded in the past, we must trace the history of Japan from where we left it in an earlier chapter.

A recent writer has divided Japanese history into three periods : (i) classical Buddhist Japan (1522-1603) 'suddenly civilized by China and Korea, refined and softened by religion, and creating the historic masterpieces of Japanese literature and art ;' (ii) feudal Japan of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), 'peaceful . . . , isolated and self-contained, seeking no alien territory and no external trade, content with agriculture and wedded to art and philosophy ;' (iii) modern Japan (since 1853 or 1868), 'seeking foreign materials and markets, fighting wars of irrepressible expan-

sion, imitating the imperialistic ardour and methods of the West, and threatening both the ascendancy of the white race and the peace of the world.'¹ We need refer here principally to the second of these periods. The greatest figure belonging to the earlier age was Hideyoshi (d. 1598).

Japan had long remained independent and aloof. Neither Kublai Khan nor Marco Polo could reach her. Hideyoshi, whose adventure in Korea in 1592 has been alluded to before, was the Clive of medieval Japan. Given up by his family as an intractable child, he grew up to be the most portentous of the *samurai* or swordsmen. Though his adventure in Korea proved abortive, Hideyoshi had the foresight of a Sir Josiah Child (who in 1685 dreamed of 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come') : "With Korean troops," he assured his Emperor, "aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected, the three countries (Korea, China, and Japan) will be one. I shall do it as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it away under his arm."

The next important man to influence the destiny of Japan, after Hideyoshi, was Iyeyasu (1603-16). He was a *Shogun* or military General, and exercised more power than the *Mikado* or Emperor himself. The *Shoguns* for a long time were almost invariably members of the *Minamoto* family. From the clan to which they belonged, their régime was called the *Tokugawa Shogunate*. According to Lafcadio Hearn, "the Tokugawa period was the happiest in the long life of the nation." Professor Will Durant writes : "Iyeyasu organised peace as ably and ruthlessly as he had or-

1. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 829.

ganized war, and administered Japan so well that it was content to be ruled by his posterity and his principles for eight generations.”¹ The principles of Iyeyasu were summed up by himself thus : ‘Take care of the people. Strive to be virtuous. Never neglect to protect the country.’

Internally Japan suffered from the evils of feudalism, but externally she appears to have been always united in her attitude towards foreigners. The patriotism of the Japanese is unique and ancient ; it has been almost their true national religion. ‘The Great Yamato (i.e. Japan),’ wrote one in 1334, ‘is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the Divine Ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land.’ This has been the faith of the Japanese people ever since. As a corollary to it they have ever looked upon all foreigners with suspicion if not hatred. Particularly has this been their attitude towards the white races—the Europeans.

The first European of note to enter Japan was St. Francis Xavier, the great and noble Jesuit missionary who introduced Christianity in that island in 1549. It is said that within a generation after his coming there were not less than seventy Jesuits and 150,000 converts to Christianity in Japan. But soon the Japanese realised that the advent of the foreigners was a source of great danger, especially after a naive European trader told them : ‘Our Kings begin by sending, into the countries they wish to conquer, *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion ; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians ; and then our Kings have

1. *Ibid.*, p. 841.

not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.' The Japanese took this confession literally and promptly adopted measures to prevent their land passing into the hands of such dangerous foreigners.

In 1614 the practice and preaching of Christianity were forbidden. By determined persecution that religion was stamped out from Japan by 1638. Since then, until the re-opening of that country to external intercourse after 1853, the doors of Japan remained closed to foreigners. During this period of over two centuries Japan continued to be steeped in feudal parochialism. She emerged out of this isolation in 1853-54 when the American adventurer, Commodore Perry, forced his way into Japan against the prohibition. This resulted in the Treaty of Kanagawa by which Japanese ports were once again opened to intercourse with the hated "barbarians." In return the United States offered to sell to Japan 'such arms and battleships as she might need, and to land officers and craftsmen for the instruction of this absurdly pacific nation in the arts of war.'

The consequence was the great awakening of Japan in the *Meiji Era* (1867-1912) under its enlightened Emperor Meiji Tenno. During this short period Japan transformed herself from an obscure feudal country into one of the most modern states. Hundreds of Japanese youths went to Europe and America and returned home with the zeal of Peter the Great for Europeanisation. 'Englishmen were brought in to superintend the construction of railways, the erection of telegraphs, and the building of a navy; Frenchmen were commissioned to recast the laws and train the army; Germans were assigned to the organization of medicine and public health; Americans were engaged to establish a system of universal education; and to make matters complete, Italians were imported to instruct the Japanese in

sculpture and painting.' To quote a Japanese writer (Nitobe) : 'Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages ; academies shot up, where youths could receive instruction in military and naval tactics ; raw recruits were drilled ; foundries and smithies sprang into existence, and belfries were molested to furnish metal for arsenals.' As Mr. H. G. Wells has put it : Japan "made all European progress seem sluggish and tentative by comparison." The result was soon seen in her aggression in Korea and China referred to already (1894), her alliance with England (1902), and her epoch-making victory over Russia (1904-5). The last was the outcome of the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, from which Japan had been previously ousted. The 'Battle of the Sea of Japan,' observes Professor Will Durant, "was a turning point in modern history. Not only did it end the expansion of Russia into Chinese territory ; it ended also the rule of Europe in the East, and began that resurrection of Asia which promises to be the central political process of our century. All Asia took heart at the sight of the little island empire defeating the most populous power in Europe ; China plotted her revolution, and India began to dream of freedom." ¹

1. *Ibid.*, p. 919.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE WORLD TO-DAY

If the world cannot organise against war, if war must go on, then the nations can protect themselves henceforth only by using whatever destructive agencies they can invent till the resources and inventions of science end by destroying humanity they were meant to serve.

—VISCOUNT GREY

This observation was made by Viscount Grey on 15 May 1916 when the World was in the grip of the Great War. Though more than twenty-two years have passed since then, the situation in the World to-day has hardly changed for the better. In the present chapter we shall make an objective survey of the facts of recent human history which have contributed to such a state of affairs. "When war broke out in 1914," wrote Mr. Basil Matthews in the *Review of Reviews*, May 1920, "five empires of the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, the Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Japanese. To-day four out of the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the one Asiatic Power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alexander, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the face of it, then, the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favour

of the Orient." But since the Orient to-day, as we saw in the preceding chapter, has been the creation of the Occident, we have to trace here the entire trend of World History in both the hemispheres.

Of the five Empires referred to above—Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Japan—the most formidable were Germany in Europe, and Japan in Asia. Though Austria was the oldest imperial power in Europe, her power had been successively curtailed since her loss of Silesia. Russia had steadily grown at her expense. Italy successfully revolted against her in 1861: Austria retired from Germany and formed the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1867. She never recovered from the blow of Sadowa. Ever since then she has always been tied to the apron-strings of Prussia. Her *Dual Alliance* with that country, effected in 1879, was to culminate in her sacrifices sustained during 1914-18, and finally in the Nazi *coup* of 1938. The Russian Empire crashed in 1917 after having sustained a series of internal and external shocks. The "sick man of Europe," despite the crutches supplied to him, from time to time by England and France, had been too frequently amputated to survive for long. He could live only in his new republican *avatar* under the Ata Turk, Kemal Pasha, in the post-war world. More about Austria, Russia, and Turkey later; first we must follow the progress of Prussia since 1871.

Despite Bismarck's great triumphs over Austria and France, Germany was far from being a "satisfied nation." She had been the last in the race for colonies, and such places as she got 'in the sun' (her African colonies) were too scorching for her surplus population. Elsewhere she found herself anticipated by her Anglo-Saxon cousins. The Industrial Revolution created for Prussia all the insistent demands—for raw-materials and markets—that England had

felt earlier ; but her scope for expansion was circumscribed. Hence her struggle for existence became increasingly desperate. Hence her philosophers like Nietzsche began to inculcate the doctrine of "real politik" ; and the patriotic aspirations of a united Germany turned from love of country to the love of more country. Her new "kultur" tried to find expression in diplomacy and war.

France was not likely to reconcile herself to her loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the humiliation of Sedan, the German occupation of Paris, and the terms of the Treaty of Frankfort (1871). Bismarck knew that France would continue to be Prussia's deadliest enemy. So he began to weave a sinister web of diplomacy, every line of which was calculated to keep France isolated and weak. 'To obviate a rapprochement between France and Russia—a thing which above all others he dreaded—he encouraged France to establish a republican rather than a monarchical form of government. To alienate France from Italy he supported the French annexation of Tunis. To embroil France with Britain he favoured the British occupation of Egypt. To prevent Austria being drawn into an anti-Prussian fellowship with France he cultivated her friendship himself, and found means to bind the Central Empires together in the bonds of a close alliance. Throughout the whole of the remainder of Bismarck's career as a statesman (1871-90) France was kept solitary and impotent.'¹

Bismarck's mantle of leadership was soon assumed by Kaiser Wilhelm II who came to the throne in 1888. "Impulsive, imperious, dramatic, a militarist from his cradle, a statesman trained in 'the indirect, crooked ways' of Bis-

1. Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History* (1815-1915), p. 272.

marck, governed by one passion, the passion to make his land great and powerful, how can we cast his horoscope?" asks Mr. A. G. Gardiner; and he answers: "Here was a new Napoleon, filled with dreams of glory, armed with the most gigantic military weapon in history." His ambition was ominously announced by him in his first address to his army: "I solemnly vow always," he declared, "to be mindful of the fact that the eyes of my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that one day I shall have to render to them an account both of the glory and the honour of the army." The Great War of 1914-18 was the fulfilment of this 'solemn vow.'

Bismarck had already in the year of Wilhelm's accession (1888) increased the German army by 800,000 'in shining armour.' The new Kaiser therefore set himself to the task of creating a great German navy; for without it his ambition of the Teutonic domination of the world (in commerce and colonisation) could not be achieved. So Heligoland was purchased from England herself in 1890, to form a splendid naval base for Germany; the excellent Kiel Canal was constructed; and strong naval stations were also built at Borkum, Cuxhaven, and Wilhelmshaven. A series of Naval Bills were passed to carry out the Kaiser's naval programme. In 1900, at the Paris Exhibition, the Germans openly proclaimed to the world in gold letters "*Our future lies on the water.*"

The 'peaceful penetration' of the world by German missionaries and merchants in the meanwhile had proceeded apace. For instance, while there were not more than 16,000 Germans in all their colonies at the accession of Wilhelm II, in Brazil alone there were not less than 350,000 Germans on the eve of the Great War. "At home science was put in commission to do its best—or worst... All their know-

ledge, their thoroughness, their powers of organisation—for in this also they have been unsurpassed—were turned to the production of zeppelins, submarines, krupp guns, mines, torpedoes, poison-gases, and other devices.”¹ Railways were constructed with broad sidings for troops and cannons; and a bargain was struck with Turkey for the extension of the German railway-system to Bagdad—for penetrating into the Orient. While all other European Powers looked down upon the Sultan as “Abdul the damned,” the Kaiser assiduously cultivated his friendship. Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, though it was against the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878); and Germany, not merely connived at it, but prevented Russia from interfering on behalf of the Slavs, by a timely and successful display of her ‘shining armour.’ She herself twice poked her nose (or rather Eagle’s beak) into French Morocco, in 1905 and 1911, to test her own strength and also that of her prospective enemies. But these adventures only served to bring about the dreaded coalition of the *Triple Entente* between England, France, and Russia, which Bismarck had tried so much to prevent. The train thus prepared was set ablaze in 1914 when the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated by the Serbians in the Bosnian capital *Serajevo*.

The history of the War may be very briefly told. It lasted from August 1914 to November 1918. Starting with Austria’s declaration of war on Serbia for the *Serajevo* murders, it gradually involved all the important Powers of the World. The tangle of alliances previously described dragged one country after another into the cock-pit. Germany entered the lists on account of Austria, and Russia on behalf of Serbia. The Franco-Russian alliance drew France into

1. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire*, p. 237.

the field against the Central Powers (Germany and Austria), and the German attempt to enter France through Belgium (violating the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality as a mere 'scrap of paper') brought Great Britain and her Empire into the fray. Bulgaria and Turkey were soon entangled with Germany and Austria, while Italy, Greece, and the Arabs joined the Allies (England and France) one after another. But the most decisive factor which tilted the balance and fortunes of war against the Germans and their allies was the entry of the United States of America in 1917. In the Far East, Japan threw in her weight on the side of England as a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance formed in 1902.

Though in the course of human history longer wars (like the Hundred Years' War) had been fought, this Great War was unparalleled in its disastrous consequences. Not merely was it the first war in which the whole World was directly or indirectly involved, but it was also unique in its concentration of energies for the destruction of men and materials. It was the first war in human history to be fought in three dimensions, on account of the addition of the aerial arm and the submarine. Science revealed for the first time its baleful potentialities. During those four years of armageddon Humanity appeared to strain every nerve to see through the struggle once and for all. The following sketch of one of its trying moments might convey to the reader a faint glimpse of its grim character :

"In the low-lying plain of Flanders, where the British held Ypres salient against many German attempts to drive through to the channel ports, the warfare was partly amphibious since the trenches filled with water in the wet winter weather. At times, by day, there was hardly a sign of life above the ground, behind the barbed wire which protected the two lines of hostile trenches, with a No Man's Land of varying width between. Even

the many rats kept their holes. At night, however, these muddy trenches became alive with armed figures in steel helmets, with gas-masks and mud-coloured uniforms. Back from the front line stretched the communication trenches, the support lines, the batteries of artillery, the miles of horse lines, the dressing stations for the wounded, the 'dumps' of ammunition and supplies of every kind, the aerodromes, the camps of relieving or attacking troops. This for most men of the Western Front, was 'the war', which stretched on interminably for weeks, months, and years, broken by raids and attacks from either side, but unchanged in essence until shortly it came to an end. It was truly described as 'a war of attrition.'"¹

The civil populations of the belligerent countries played as important and strenuous a part in this war as the combatants themselves. Their mobilisation was as vast and intensive as that of the soldiers recruited into the army. As Mr. H. G. Wells has said : "The armies were millions strong, and behind them entire populations were organised for the supply of food and munitions to the front. There was a cessation of nearly every sort of productive activity except such as contributed to military operations. All the able-bodied manhood of Europe (as also of other countries involved) was drawn into the armies or navies or into the improvised factories that served them. There was an enormous replacement of men by women in industry. Probably more than half the people in the belligerent countries of Europe changed their employment altogether during this stupendous struggle. They were socially uprooted and transplanted. Education and normal scientific work was restricted or diverted to immediate military ends, and the distribution of news was crippled and corrupted by military control and 'propaganda' activities." The physical, mental, moral, and economic strain of this Great War was, in-

1. Flenley and Weech, *World History*, p. 689.

deed, enormous beyond calculation. After twenty years now the World has not yet fully recovered from its effects. Germany and Russia suffered most, and in both the countries there were revolutions—first in Russia, then in Germany. These will be dealt with later.

The War was officially brought to a close on 11 November 1918 by the proclamation of Armistice. Its technical sequel was the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors—just where the Germans had celebrated their triumph in 1871. The innocent Mirrors of Versailles therefore now reflected the inverted image of the Europe of 1871. Versailles was the reverse of which Frankfurt was the obverse. But the French *revanche* was even more terrible and exacting than the Teutonic triumph of the previous century. France had been crippled by Bismarck but not paralysed. The Allies in 1919 sought to lay Germany under such a heavy load of “reparations” that she should never recover from its agonies. Besides territorial losses, they were asked to pay the modest indemnity of £8,000,000,000 as compensation for damage done, including pensions for the crippled and maintenance for the bereaved! “The atmosphere of hate was terrible,” declared an eyewitness at the Peace Conference: “*A great moment, but I fear a peace without victory, just as we had a victory without peace.*”¹

Over a thousand delegates, representing more than thirty countries, attended ‘this greatest conference in history; only the Germans, Austrians, Bulgars, and Turks were excluded. The terms were ‘discussed’ with them through circulation of papers, and their plenipotentiaries were called in only to

1. Grant and Temperley, *Europe in the XIX & XX Centuries*, pp. 549-50.

sign the *fait accompli*. The deliberations were throughout dominated by the Big Four : Clemenceau 'the tiger' of France, Lloyd George 'the Shylock' of England, Wilson 'the Moses' of America, and Orlando 'the obscure' of Italy. India was 'represented' by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner 'looking magnificent in a pale khaki turban.' What they accomplished was little better than the achievements of the equally historic (or equally mischievous) Congress of Vienna (1815). They re-drew the map of the world and unsettled its peace. "We are beginning to realise", says Mr. Wells, "that that conflict, terrible and enormous as it was, ended nothing, began nothing, and settled nothing. It killed millions of people ; it wasted and impoverished the world... The Great War lifted the threat of German imperialism from Europe, and shattered the imperialism of Russia. It cleared away a number of monarchies. But a multitude of flags still waves in Europe, the frontiers still exasperate, great armies accumulate fresh stores of equipment."¹

The work of Versailles was a mixture of realism and idealism. The former was represented by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the latter by President Wilson of America. The redrawing of the map of the world and reparations were due to the former, and the constitution of a League of Nations was the achievement of the latter. To understand the World To-day it is necessary to say something about both.

The redistribution of territories was partly determined by the promises held out by England and France to their allies, and partly by the principle of nationality. First came the share of the major Powers. England and France shared between them the German colonies in Africa though only as

1. *A Short History of the World*, p. 244.



'mandatory'. France also received Alsace-Lorraine. The Saar valley was to be administered under a 'mandate' of the League of Nations; it reverted to Germany by a *plebiscite* of its people in 1935. On the East, Poland (which had been partitioned between Prussia, Russia, and Austria during the eighteenth century) was reconstituted as an independent state; and a Polish Corridor was created up to Danzig on the Baltic, which port was handed over to the League of Nations. Another new state was created in Bohemia, re-christened Czecko-Slovakia, under its famous leader Mazaryk as first President. Austria and Hungary, considerably reduced in size, became two independent republics; parts of their territories being shared by Italy in the South and the new Balkan States in the East. Serbia and Montenegro combined to form Yugoslavia, and Roumania was enlarged with the addition of Transylvania. Bulgaria lost her hold on the Aegean and became one of the smallest of Balkan States. By agreement between Russia and Germany, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—in the Baltic region—were also constituted independent states. Turkey lost much of her remaining territories in Europe as well as Asia, and the Aegean islands. Though Constantinople was left to her, the Straits were demilitarised and internationalised. 'A dozen independent nations now stretched from the eastern Baltic to the Aegean, a veritable mosaic of states from the empires of Germany, Russia, Austria, and Turkey.'

The Allies had pompously proclaimed during the War that they were waging 'a war to end war' and 'war to vindicate the principle of self-determination.' The League of Nations, with its head-quarters at Geneva, was therefore constituted to maintain these ideals. The principle of nationality was largely given effect to in the reconstitution of states

in Europe ; and where other minorities existed, protection of such minorities was guaranteed to them under the ægis of the League. All disputes were to be settled, not by barbarous warfare as heretofore, but by peaceful arbitration. An International Court had been already set up at the Hague, as early as 1899 ; it was now rehabilitated as the Permanent Court of International Justice. Another important body that was also created was the International Labour Organisation (I. L. O.). It has done much useful work to improve the conditions of labour all over the World. We cannot dwell at length upon these matters here. Though the League of Nations has suffered from the defects of its organisation, its recent failures in the political field, its non-recognition from its very inception by the U. S. A., its defiance by Germany, Japan, and Italy, in the pursuit of their selfish national ambitions, etc., it is too premature in the light of World History to write its epitaph.

Before we conclude this chapter we must, at least briefly, describe the main trends and new strands in the World since the War. In their concrete aspects these relate to Russia, Turkey, Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and India. Other factors and forces may be only incidentally referred to in a brief survey like this.

Russia had grown steadily in importance ever since the time of Peter the Great and Catherine. Alexander I had played a very prominent rôle, in the post-Napoleonic epoch, and with all his faults had been the inspirer of the Holy Alliance to uphold 'Christian principles' in the political relations of European states. He was thus the fore-runner of the Concert of Europe and the League of Nations. The Balkan policy of the Czars had created the Eastern Question which brought Russia into direct political conflict with the Western Powers. Balked by the Crimean War and the

Treaty of Berlin they had turned to 'fresh fields and pastures new', across the tundras of Siberia, in the Far East. There too they came into conflict, as we have seen, with 'the England of the East.' The defeat of the Russian Armada in the Sea of Japan in 1905 drove the Russian bear growling into her own den. This had its own internal repercussions in the shape of portentous risings which were to culminate in the Red Revolution of 1917-18.

Russia had to pay a very heavy price for her participation in the Great War. She had, it will be remembered, taken up the sword on behalf of Serbia in 1914. In spite of her earlier victories against Germany and Austria, the War entailed such sufferings and strain at home that, her domestic malcontents created a revolution. The history of the Bourbons now repeated itself with the Romanoffs, Nicolas II and Alexandra playing the rôle of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The 'morning star' of this Revolution was Carl Marx, as that of the French Revolution had been Rousseau; its Danton was Lenin, its Jacobins the Bolsheviki. To cut a long story short, on 25 October 1917 the Socialist Soviet Republic was proclaimed by the Communists under the leadership of Nicolai Lenin. Petrograd has become Leningrad.

With the death of Lenin in 1924 Russian Communism entered a new phase. A terrible duel ensued between Trotsky the Jew and Stalin the Georgian for the Dictatorship over the Proletariat (workers, soldiers, and peasants). After five years' struggle the Jewish journalist was ousted by Stalin ('the man of steel') in 1929. Trotsky, now an exile from Russia, stands for a World Revolution; Stalin stands for the preliminary consolidation of the Revolution within Russia. While the idealist revolutionary is roaming abroad, the practical revolutionary is transforming Russia (through

a series of Five-Year Plans), so as 'to catch up and surpass the capitalist countries' in industrial progress.

The sudden transformation of an Old World people, a transformation even more radical and surprising than that of the Japanese, as a result of the new forces released by the Great War, is best illustrated by the birth of New Turkey. Like Russia, old Turkey had collapsed during the War. The price she had to pay for her defeat was the Treaty of Sevres (1920) which threatened to virtually wipe out 'the sick man' with only the ghost of the Sultan kept alive. The challenge of this disaster was taken up by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, leader of the Young Turk movement (which had started before the War), who organised a National Pact 'to win or be wiped out', and, at the end of one of the most sanguinary yet heroic struggles recorded in human history, created a New Turkey out of the ashes of the old. The Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) but gave international validity to an established fact when it recognised the Turkish Republic with Kemal Pasha as its President.

Kemal had begun as a rebel on whose head the nominal Sultan had placed a price; he has lived to become the Dictator and abolished root and branch the entire old order represented by the Sultan (who was also the Caliph). The Caliphate was extinguished in March 1924 by the Turkish National Assembly, and since then Turkey has completely cut herself from her Oriental moorings. The substitution of the hat for the fez, and the Roman script for the Arabic are but outward marks of an inward change which the Ata Turk has brought about under his Dictatorship. In short, Turkey has been converted in the course of a decade, from being an atrophied Asiatic people, into a progressive and dynamic modern state.

The next momentous change in the post-War world has

been manifested in the creation of the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy. The Kernel of this new order has been Benito Mussolini. It is beyond our scope to attempt anything more than a bare summary of his work and policy. Exploiting the acute discontent in Italy after the War, Signor Mussolini—the son of a blacksmith, who had successively been a school-master, journalist and socialist—led a successful march on Rome, in October 1922, and captured power for his party which was called the *Fascisti*. Il Duce, as Mussolini is called in Italy, is the head of the Fascist Grand Council which rules the country in the name of the King, but really under the command of the Dictator. Mussolini has revived in his country the ambitions and spirit of ancient Rome and set the feet of his countrymen on the road to imperial glory, though in doing so he has upset the peace of the World. His conquest of Abyssinia (1935) and interference in the Civil War being still waged in Spain indicate the trend of his foreign policy. Internally he has achieved enough unity, efficiency, and prosperity to hypnotise his people into acquiescence with both his Dictatorship at home and his chauvinism abroad.

Germany, the principal author and victim of the Great War, could not also escape from its worst effects, political as well as economic. In the welter of reactions that followed, the Kaiser fled the country, and Deutschland became a Republic. A democratic constitution was drawn up at Weimar in February 1919, and Ebert (a sadler) elected first President. But the internal collapse of Germany was so complete that under the external pressure of the ruthless reparations she could not recover stability without a revolution. The great economic depression of 1929 found her in the nadir of her fall. Unemployment rose to fearful proportions. Out of the several competing solutions to this

crisis the National-Socialism of Herr Hitler (son of an Austrian customs-collector) proved the most efficient. The Nazi party in Germany, drawing its inspiration from the Fascist party in Italy, launched another Dictatorship in Central Europe (1933) which with its Teutonic thoroughness has startled the world even more violently than any other *coup* in history. In the course of these five years it has wrenched Germany out of the rut into which the victorious Allies had cast her at Versailles ; it has defiantly rescued the Germans from the paralysis of enforced disarmament ; it has created enormous employment in industry, agriculture, and armaments ; it has reoccupied the forbidden districts of the Rhineland, repudiated the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, absorbed Austria into the Reich by a most astounding stratagem, and threatened other neighbouring states with German populations, like Czecko-Slovakia, with a similar fate. Anti-French, anti-Communist, and above all anti-Semitic, the Nazi Dictator has promulgated the new doctrine of 'Nordic superiority' which threatens to engulf Europe—and the rest of the World—in a more cataclysmic struggle than the Kaiser had found feasible. The tentacles of the German eagle have already bound Italy and Japan in the ominous grip of an Anti-Comintern Pact. Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, seem at present to enclose within a triangle the peace of the World. The *swastika* adopted by the neo-Aryans of Germany has become a truculent symbol of war instead of 'peace on earth and good-will among men.'

Turkey, Italy, and Germany have not been the only countries to pass under Dictatorships in the post-War world. The economic depression on the one hand, and the fear of external aggression on the other, and the universal menace of Communism in particular, have tended to drive country after country into some form of authoritarian rule, either

peacefully established as in Poland and Czecko-Slovakia, or violently created as in Greece and Spain. These two last-named countries are still in the throes of either occasional eruptions as in Greece, or interminable civil war as in Spain. The latter country, invaded by General Franco from Morocco in 1936, has been the battle ground, ever since, of a virtual struggle for ascendancy between the forces of Socialism and Fascism, on account of the patently surreptitious support given to the two contending parties by their sympathisers all over Europe. It is only a question of time as to when this localised conflict will burst through the camouflage into a universal conflagration. The race for armaments among the Powers is an ominous petrel of the coming storm. Meanwhile the atmosphere is surcharged with the psychology of 'war and rumours of war.'

The vast and rapid changes that were taking place in the East since about the middle of the last century were also now bearing fruit. China after the Boxer Revolt (1900), Japan after the Russo-Japanese War (1905), and India after the Partition of Bengal (1905), were all different from what they had been for centuries past. They were undergoing rapid transformation along Western and Nationalistic lines; and each in its own way was not merely breaking with its own past, but also becoming impatient of Western domination. It is not surprising that the emulation of the West has increasingly bred a dislike of European interference; the former is itself the cause of the latter. "There is no more amazing or portentous phenomenon in modern history," says Will Durant, "than the way in which sleeping Japan, roughly awakened by the cannon of the West, leaped to the lesson, bettered the instruction, accepted science, industry and war, defeated all her competitors either in battle or in trade, and became, within two generations, the most aggressive nation

in the contemporary world.”¹ Japan is but the spear-head of Asia.

When England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, and the U. S. A., all combined together to crush the Boxer Revolt in China, and imposed on her an indemnity of \$330,000,000, and later remitted most of this indemnity on condition that it shall be spent on educating the youth of China in the countries that made the generous gesture, they laid the foundations of Modern China. The Revolution of 1912, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, the abdication of the Celestial Manchu Emperor Pú Yi; and the establishment of the Chinese Republic were the first fruits of the new awakening. But the sorrows of China were far from being ended thereby. Her *Tuchuns* still continued to divide and distract the country. Russian communist propaganda, after 1922, added a fresh principle of discord. The dictatorship of Chang Kai-shek was the ultimate solution that China in her distress evolved in order to save herself. For now a greater danger than that of the European Powers was looming on her Eastern shore, viz., Japan. Sun Yat-sen had planned to ally China and Japan in their common revolt against the West; but Japan discovered in China's helplessness just the quarry she needed for exploitation under the spell of her recent developments. During the Great War she had allied herself with England and pounced upon the German possessions in China. Then she also pressed upon China her notorious ‘Twenty-one Demands’ which if conceded would have reduced that country to a Japanese dependency. The Chinese boycott movement and the protests of the Western Powers saved the situation for the time being. At the Washington Conference in 1922 the ‘open door’

1. *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 913,

policy was reaffirmed. But Japan, smarting under this frustration and awaiting a better opportunity, invaded Manchuria in 1931 in open defiance of the Washington declaration and the Nine-Power Pact. She wriggled out of the League of Nations on account of its protest against this violation, and set up Pú Yi (the Manchu Emperor dethroned by the Chinese in 1912) as her puppet 'Emperor' on the throne of Manchuria, renamed *Manchukuo*. She had already taken Korea and called it *Chosen*. The present Sino-Japanese War (1937—) is a sequel of the above described trends in the Far East. The Japanese imperialism of to-day was anticipated in an Imperial announcement written in the autumn of 1916 :—

"China is our steed!" it ran. "Far shall we ride upon her!... So becomes our 50,000,000 race 500,000,000 strong; so grow our paltry hundreds of millions of gold into billions!...

"We are now well astride our steed, China; but the steed has long run wild and is run down; it needs grooming, more grain, more training. Further, our saddle and bridle are as yet mere make-shifts; would steed and trappings stand the strain of war?....

"But using China as our steed, should our first goal be the land? India? Or the Pacific, the sea that must be our very own, even as the Atlantic is now England's. The land is tempting and easy, but withal dangerous... It must therefore be the sea."¹

The awakening in India described in the previous chapter received a fresh impetus in the course of the present century on account of several events of world importance. The first of these was the Japanese victory which synchro-

1. H. G. Franks, *The Riddle of the Orient*, pp. 31-2.

nised with the 'partition' of Bengal. "The reverberations of that victory," Lord Curzon himself said, "have gone like a thunderclap through the whispering galleries of the East." It created a new self-confidence among the politically conscious people all over Asia. Under the circumstances the partition of Bengal cut like a deep wound which aroused national feeling from one end of the country to another, though it directly touched only the people of Bengal. The constructive nationalism of the Congress was driven by it into more radical channels. Though a temporary split occurred in the ranks of the nationalists on account of this extremism, from 1907 to 1916, not only were the two sections brought together in the Lucknow session of the Congress, but even the Muslim League which had stood aloof until then came in to form a new coalition. The inadequacy of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 had given rise to much discontent. It was not allayed by Their Majesties' visit to India and the restoration of the integrity of Bengal (1911). India made whole-hearted sacrifices during the Great War in men, money, and materials with great expectations about the future. But the events that followed after the British triumph deepened India's distrust in the good faith of her foreign masters. Even the moderates of earlier years turned extremists in the post-War period in India. The new trend was personified in Mahatma Gandhi who transformed the Indian National Congress from a supplicating body into a revolutionary organisation, though the methods he inculcated were non-violent. The weapon of 'passive resistance' which he had forged in upholding the self-respect of the Indian community in South Africa, was now elaborated into the Non-co-operation movement of 1921, and ultimately developed into the more active 'civil disobedience' campaign of 1931. The Montague-Chelmsford

reforms of 1919 only served to whet the national appetite for a greater advance towards responsible government. The frustration of these hopes even drove some to agitate for complete independence instead of mere 'dominion status.' The pace being thus forced by the progressive intensification of the national demand, India has now reached the threshold of a Federation of autonomous provinces. This is the scope of the Reform Act of 1935. The future of India hangs on the future of Asia and the World. The fate of Humanity itself is now in the keeping of its statesmen.

"To-day," wrote Mr. S. S. McClure in the *London Times* on 15 January 1921, "the white race occupies not only Europe, but North and South America and Australia, and rules ninety-seven per cent. of Africa and nearly half of Asia, and the most important fact to-day is the coming struggle between the forces of colour and the white race." On 26 February of the same year, the *Argus* of Melbourne wrote editorially : "This is the huge question that is really before the peacemakers. Can they find out some new way of life between West and East, some way different from the two-thousand-year-old way of warfare? All other wars—even the Great War just finished—become parochial squabbles compared with this war. When it comes, if it comes, it will have all the horrors of modern science in its hands, and all the weight of the ancient forces of history at its back. Can it then be avoided? Can the wise men of America and Japan, of Britain and the British Empire, of Asia and Europe, not find some other way out?" The answer is yet to be given.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Know that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.—IBN KHALDUN

The survey of Human History that we set out to make in this brief volume is now at an *end* without being *complete*. In the *Approach* we visualised that 'There is such a phenomenon as Progress ; call it culture, civilisation, or by any other name.' We understood this to mean that 'there may be setbacks here and there, or retrogression now and again, in the long course of human history. But with all these, Man has evolved out of the brute-creation. He has risen above the mere animal. He has ever toiled to make his lot better than his inheritance in every age. And whatever may be his ultimate Destiny, an eternal urge keeps him striving after Utopias. The Vision beckons and recedes before our faltering steps. Yet Faith keeps us steadfast on the thorny upward path.' 'This,' we characterised, 'is one of the fundamental human traits which are universally true.'

Beginning with the *First Steps*, some 50,000 years or so ago, we have come down the millennia, to the *World To-day*. Is this long procession of the human race without any meaning or significance for us ? There is at least one *fact* in all this which no one can deny, namely, 'While it took millions

of years for Nature to bring man into existence, the dynamic intelligence of man (*homo sapiens*) has transformed life on earth so tremendously in the course of a few millennia which constitute the sum of human history.' Secondly, we have pointed to the conclusion that 'Man has remained the same through all the varying conditions of life'; that "Our knowledge of him in the twentieth century A.D. may be fuller and more intimate than our knowledge of him in the twentieth century B.C., but that makes no difference in his fundamental character.' For, 'He is still the intelligent and inventive brute that he was 500,000 (or 50-, or 20-, or 2,000) years ago : affectionate at home, jealous of his neighbour, ferocious in war, and ruthless when his selfish instincts are roused ; but noble and progressive on the whole, with a marvellous organising capacity, which has made him master on earth over animate and inanimate creation alike.' Finally, we said, 'World History is but a recalling of this wonderful creature's doings, his struggles, achievements and failures in the past, that they might instruct his present, and bear fruit in his future.' That is why the Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun, wrote : 'Know that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.'

If by 'science' we mean *a systematised body of knowledge*, we need not quarrel over the description of History as a *science*. That History is 'abounding in instruction' may not also be denied ; Carlyle found in it 'philosophy taught through examples.' Though different readers may find material for different philosophies in human history, the fundamental 'science of History' (i.e. an intelligible presentation of the Past) is 'noble in its conception' and 'exalted in its aim'. Occasionally we might come across a cynic who opines that 'History teaches but one lesson : *man has learnt no*

lessons from history' (or even that 'history has no lessons to teach'). But, despite such exceptional philosophers, *experience* is a great teacher (may be sometimes an unsuccessful teacher); and History is a record of the accumulated experience of our race. Our aim in this little volume has been only 'to hold the mirror up to the whole pageant of man's life ... in all parts of our planet, in all ages and climes, to the extent that space will permit.' Lest the mirror might get choked with images, we confined our choice in the foregoing pages to the 'significant.' In this concluding part of our survey we must assess the significance of our selection,—still hoping that we may have 'raised the curtain on a scene in the drama which I have found extremely engaging.'

In reviewing human *Progress in Antiquity* we observed that 'The history of man is an account of ... inventions pertaining to his material as well as spiritual wants,' and also that 'The two are inseparable.' We found the secret of man's superiority over all other creatures in his 'inventive intelligence' which has been the cause of all his progress. Within the limits of his 'powers of organisation' man has shown himself to be 'the master of his destiny' and 'the potential lord of the earth and nature.' His civilisation has comprised the 'multiplication and refinement of wants.' These 'wants' have been in relation to his body, mind, 'heart' or 'spirit,' all of which together constitute his 'personality.' The satisfaction of the needs of human personality has constituted the primary urge which in the course of long ages has evolved cultures or civilisation.¹

1 We shall use the term *Culture* to denote a particular type like 'Greek Culture' or 'Hindu Culture'; and the term *Civilisation* to denote the general progress of the Human Race as a whole.

Two important elements have determined the course of civilisation : (a) Man ; (b) Environment. The variation in the two factors accounts for the variations in cultures. The different races of mankind (like Aryan, Semitic, Mongolian, Negro, etc.) have displayed different aptitudes for culture ; consequently, each of them has evolved a culture of its own. Thus the Aryan has differed from the Semitic, and both from the Mongolian ; the Negro has been the least progressive. On the other hand, geographical or physical environment has equally influenced the course and character of people's progress. This includes the fertility of soil, the nearness of rivers and the sea, climate, vegetation and natural resources like minerals, building materials, etc. Especially in the earlier stages of human civilisation these were more decisive factors than they are now.

A culture once developed in a particular environment has undergone considerable modification by contact with other cultures ; such contacts being determined by the means of communication. The earliest means of communication were rivers. The sea or ocean which was at first a dividing factor later became a uniting link between distantly situated countries, on account of the progressive improvement of navigation. Even vast continents in modern times have been traversed by railways. The latest contrivance for the abridgment of long distances is the airship. Telegraphs, deep-sea cables, and the radio, have converted our world into a close-knit sphere. This has led to the domination of weaker cultures by the stronger, as well as resulted in a rapid process of elimination of differences, producing a greater uniformity of civilisation.

Nations like individuals have their own peculiarities. They tend to preserve their special features, even as individuals seek to preserve their personalities. But in our inter-depen-

dent world these inclinations create conflicts, just as the egoisms of individuals lead to inharmonious relations in society. Humanity is at present striving to reconcile its international disharmonies, in the same way as it has integrated individuals into families, communities, and nations. In the earlier stages of civilisation individuals or at best families or clans were left to themselves in securing justice. This license continued almost down to the dawn of modern times. Then they were all reduced to subjection to a common law. Vendetta can no longer settle domestic or municipal disputes ; the days of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Montagues and Capulets are gone. Is it similarly possible to compel and habituate nations to the reign of international law instead of national vendetta ? Evidently the human race has not yet been civilised to that height of regulated conduct. Will it ever be ? The answer will depend on our capacity to assimilate the lessons of universal history.

A careful survey of human history unravels to our vision the two vistas of achievements and failures. Deeper analysis will indicate that man has been able to subdue his environment more readily than his own primitive instincts. The material comforts provided by modern civilisation are evidence of the former ; the crimes of both individuals and nations are proofs of the latter. It is this contrast between the outer and inner aspects of our civilisation that has induced some thinkers to question its benefits and blessings.¹ At times one really feels as if our civilisation is only the thin veneer of incorrigible barbarians. Beneath the polish of even the most advanced peoples in the modern world

1. Edward Carpenter wrote a book on *Civilisation : Its Cause and Cure*.

there is an elemental savageness which manifests itself in epidemic form during periods of war, but is scarcely hidden even in times of peace. This description of the *facts* of life need make us neither pessimistic nor optimistic. There is room in the perspective of World History to be more sanguine about the future of our race than the face of contemporary experience seems to warrant; but at the same time, the incorrigibility of human nature in certain matters should put a curb on the boundless optimism of idealists. To appreciate to which side the balance tilts, it is necessary to carefully garner the grain of our grand survey.

If we do not question the scientific conclusions of anthropologists, Man, in the process of evolution, emerged from ape ancestors. To arrive at this astounding *anthropos*, in the biological laboratory of Nature, it took the Creator countless ages of experiment. Among His discarded relics are the "missing links" who seem to have been only tentative products before *homo sapiens* arrived. Then followed the pre-historic period of man's education up to his learning, or rather discovering, the art of writing by some Montessori method or a divine Dalton plan. Once language was mastered (both spoken and written), this precocious child of Nature made rapid progress. Indeed, man's progress has been increasingly rapid since then. Even before the Christian era, he had achieved the marvels of Egyptology, Assyriology, and the more recently unravelled mysteries of Indology. Towards the close of this long epoch he worked the miracle of Greek culture, and left to posterity the rich legacies of India, Greece, and Rome, no less than those of Egypt, Babylonia, and Israel. Without repeating all that we have set down in greater detail before, we might assess here the net contributions of these cultures to human civilisation. We need consider only a few typical or rather fateful dis-

coveries which have influenced human destiny for good and evil.

First among these are the products of the Nile and Indus valleys. The former created standards of comfort and decency never before known to pre-historic man ; the latter gave to the world its first lessons in rational town-planning and city-life, on which indeed civilisation is based. Assyria and Persia set our feet on the dangerous paths of war and imperialism along lines attempted by none before them, though copied and improved upon by others in later times. The Chinese invented above all else, the mariner's compass, gun-powder, and the printing-press ; the first brought the European into their country, the second enabled mankind to destroy itself, and the third made a world-renaissance possible. Finally, in the world of antiquity, India revealed her genius for metaphysics and religions, thereby enabling a Schopenhauer to die in peace and her own children to remain under foreign yoke retaining for themselves the proud privilege of having produced the first Prince of Peace for the edification of the pugnacious Mongolian race. Greece and Rome, though chronologically belonging to the ancient world, *logically* belong to our own. The only other people of antiquity that we need comment upon here, are the Israelites, who,—while Egypt worshipped her multitude of quaint gods, India rejected her Buddha in preference for her own metaphysics and religions, China accepted the exiled ethic of India to add to her own Confucianism, and Iran was engrossed in the eternal duel between Ahura and Ahriman,—replaced the confused vacancy of the Western mind with the coherent theology of a humanised and unified god. Such was the World into which Greece and Rome stepped.

It is not easy to summarise the Greek contributions to human civilisation, for the ancient Greeks were the most

versatile people of antiquity. Their literature, art, and philosophy are still alive and active. "In spite of many differences," as Livingstone has said, "no age has had closer affinities with Ancient Greece than our own; none has based its deeper life so largely on ideals which the Greeks brought into the world." We need not search for any specific facts out of the Greek creations to illustrate this; we have rather to appreciate Matthew Arnold's observations about Sophocles: The Greeks were a people who 'saw life steadily and saw it whole'; their 'even balanced Soul, business could not make dull nor passion wild.' A deep earnestness leading to scientific experimentalism was their greatest gift to posterity. As we have said before, "They had a passion for perfection. Truth, Beauty, Goodness were for them synonymous. They tried to realise these in the individual, as well as in Society. The harmonious cultivation of body, mind and soul was their ideal. For this they held their athletic competitions; for this they made endless experiments in political organisation; and for this they built up their Academy and Lyceum.' What has been said about their art is equally true about their outlook on life as a whole: "The idealism of the Greek artist consisted in getting the very best he could from nature and putting it together in the most beautiful way."

The Romans were differently constituted. "While it was the Greek genius which, in its latter days, rose to conceptions of the unity of humanity," writes Professor E. Barker, "it was the Roman genius which translated those conceptions . . . into an organised system of life." The Roman had a passion and gift for organisation. As Virgil sang:

Thou, Roman, shalt remember how to rule,
Lay down the laws of Peace, and teach her ways,
Pardon the fallen, overthrow the proud.

This was what the Roman—through Republic and Empire

—aimed at and achieved. Though his language (Latin) occupies to this day a classical seat by the side of Greek, and though the Romance languages (Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and French) bear witness to its widespread influence, the particular legacy of Rome to the modern World was her “unparalleled system of law and justice.” As Professor Hearnshaw has summarised: ‘She established a world peace; she linked her vast dominions together by a network of splendid roads; she maintained an unparalleled system of law and justice; she developed an extensive commerce; she erected in all her provinces magnificent public works; she preserved the culture of the Hellenic East; she educated the barbarians of the Celtic West; . . . fused barbarians and Greeks into a single polity; brought East and West together, and impressed upon the civilised world a consciousness of unity which even to the present day has never been wholly lost.’ Rome, in short, tried to do for the Ancient World what Britain has attempted to do in the modern. The tradition of the Roman Empire has been always a living force in Europe. ‘Alike in literature, in art, in philosophy, and in religion,’ Asquith has observed, ‘Rome built the bridge over which many of the best thoughts and finest models of antiquity found their way into the Medieval and thence into the Modern World.’ The fascist idealism of Mussolini’s Italy is the latest product of the Roman inspiration.

When the Roman Empire was deluged by the barbarian hordes, of Attila the Hun and Alaric the Goth, Rome bequeathed to Europe Constantinople and Christianity. The former proved to be the Eastern bulwark of European civilisation and the latter remained the only civilising force in the midst of an all-devouring paganism; though ultimately, Constantinople succumbed to the Turks and Christian Europe was swallowed by the new paganism of modern times.

The barbarians, while they destroyed much that was untenable in the older civilisation, also invigorated Europe with fresh blood and ideas. Amidst the 'encircling gloom' of the Dark Ages 'The City of God' not merely endured but also tamed and humanised the savages. The Moors, Aristotle, Latin, the See of St. Peter, and the monastic orders, prevented Europe from lapsing into utter barbarism; while feudalism, the Knight-errantry of the Crusades, the medieval gilds, and the widespread trade and intercourse proved the veritable seeds of Europe's liberation from the shackles of the past. Both the spirit of localism bred by the manor and the gild, as well as the universalism of the Church and commerce, were to yield place to the larger parochialism of nation-states and the greater unity of our modern interdependent world. Dynasticism was the parent of the former and Renaissance the harbinger of the latter. Indeed, as we remarked before, the Present is the child of the Past and the parent of the Future.

Dynastic monarchism, the product and preserver of the Old Order, could not preserve itself from the products of the New Order. Both the Pope and the Potentates, the erstwhile rivals for ascendancy in medieval Europe, found new rivals in the Protestant movements and the rise of the democratic spirit. There was a dual revolt: one against the autocracy of the medieval Church, the other against the autocracy of the equally medieval-minded monarchy. The ferment that heralded the birth of our new world, however, has remained with us as a permanent invigorating (or is it inebriating?) element to leaven modern life. Many things have gone into its brew, out of which we may single out only a few of the most important ingredients. In brief, the spirit of exploration and discovery, the spirit of experimentalism and earnest enquiry, unfettered by tradition or authority,

outwardly released by the Renaissance, but inwardly due to the entire complex process of History, has been the outstanding characteristic of our Modern Age. This has given a death-blow to all old-world ideas and institutions, imparted a rude shock to conservative inclinations, and produced the go-ahead reck-nothing do-and-dare mentality, which might have appeared too adventurous even to the ancient Greeks. In this maelstrom of new life much of the old has been dislodged, if not destroyed ; much also has been reconstructed and transformed beyond recognition. Unless we are able to appreciate this trend as a whole, we shall not be able to understand the significance of the mere facts and events of modern history. Church and Monarchy have therefore been but partners in sharing the reactions of this all-sided change, even as they were partners in the reactionary tendencies that opposed all change unless it was initiated by themselves.

First, the Protestant revolt not only released religious thought from the routine ruts of the Roman Church, but it also produced the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation movement which became a constructive force giving to the world the excellent disciplined army of workers constituting the Society of Jesus. Secondly, the growing commerce of Europe, its accidental clash with the Turks, and the consequent diversion of trade-routes, gave the Europeans a new and vaster world in which to expand. This in its turn created national rivalries which stimulated, not merely destructive jealousies and wars, but also creative and constructive activities. The Industrial Revolution in England was the product of these forces.

The old inventive instinct or intelligence of man, sharpened by centuries of experience and stimulated by the urge of a new life with its insistent needs, produced a harvest of novel

implements, tools, machinery, sufficient to upset and revolutionise the entire economy of human civilisation. Some of these inventions we have already referred to in the course of our survey ; a little more may be said about them here.

Life in the ancient and even medieval times was simpler, in that its organisation was less intricate than it is now. With increased complexity has also come better organising ability which has made man more powerful for construction no less than destruction. The secret of this power, for good and evil, is summed up in the magical word 'Science.' It is exercising over modern man the same influence that magic did over the ancient and medieval. Having its roots deep down in the Past, Science has come into its very own in our times.

In studying the significance of this most vital force in the modern world we must distinguish between Pure science and Applied science. Reserving the former for later comment, we shall first deal with the latter ; for Pure science concerns the intellectual few, while Applied science has affected the lives of all. Applied science is Science in relation to practical life. It is the 'science of tools' or 'technology' which began with the inventions of the palæolithic man and still continues to transform the earth and human life in a most wonderful manner. Its first marvel was revealed in the mechanical inventions devised by Heron, the Alexandrian mathematician of the first century A.D., and its potentialities disclosed by the genius of Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century A.D. The versatility of Leonardo has been referred to before. 'Architect, sculptor, painter and engineer,' as Mr. Marvin has said, 'no one exhibits more clearly in his own person the intimate connexion between actual constructive work and the imaginative use of the mind. He devised himself some good dozen of inventions which have since

become popular and useful—pumps, ship-logs, power-looms and many others, and, from the flight of birds, designed a flying machine which in his hands remained a sketch. The same brain worked, too, in studying the anatomy of animals, the traces and meaning of fossils, the laws of motion and their relation to sound and light The practical work, on which he chiefly lived, was that needed by the rulers and people of his day—great hydraulic and irrigation works in Lombardy, fortifications for Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan . . . Besides his engineering achievements in fortification, he is credited with the invention of a submarine boat and a breech-loading cannon. Such intermixture of constructive work with the planned destruction of human life has gone on so far throughout the course of history.'

The above sketch of Leonardo da Vinci correctly depicts the entire range and character of technology in the Modern World. What we witness in the world to-day is but the logical development of the Italian's anticipations. To know more about these developments one has to go to special histories on the subject, like *The Endless Quest* by F. W. Westaway. In addition to the inventions of the Chinese (mariner's compass, gun-powder, paper and the printing-press), and the textile and locomotive engines, referred to earlier, we might mention only a few more scientific achievements here to illustrate the above remarks. The operation of all kinds of machinery for all varieties of purposes became easy on account of the discovery, first of steam-power, and then of electricity. The American Franklin, the Italian Volta, and the British Faraday, by their investigations regarding electrical phenomena made the telegraph possible in 1835. The first under-sea cable was laid between England and France in 1851. The discovery of the 'Hertzian Waves,' or electric vibrations in ether, introduced the wireless with

which we are now familiar. Now the world is looking forward to becoming as familiar with 'television.' The discovery of the X-ray, by the German Röntgen in 1895, has enabled surgeons to see through a living body and observe its innermost operations, while the use of anæsthetics (e.g. chloroform) has revolutionised surgical practice. These striking discoveries of modern science, taken almost at random, should suffice to focus the reader's attention upon this phase of recent human history which has revolutionised our lives to an extent and in a manner never dreamed of before by man in the long ages of his evolution.

Rather than attempt even a bare summary of the vast and varied achievements of Science, it will be more worthwhile to gauge their significance in human history. Theoretically, man, in the beginning of his career was faced with the double problem of understanding himself and his vast and overwhelming environment; in practice, he had to master his own personality within and subdue the forces of Nature without. The history of Philosophy is one long record of persistent human striving to apprehend Reality or the meaning of life and existence; while the history of Science is one long record of man's continued effort to gain control over the same. In the Modern Age both our knowledge regarding ourselves (physically, mentally, spiritually), and our knowledge regarding the Universe in which we live, is the richest ever attained by men. Likewise, our command of all the rich resources of our material existence is the completest ever exercised by *homo sapiens* on earth. The world in which we live, with all its comforts, complexities, and problems, is the map or index of our accumulated heritage. It is obvious that the future of our race will depend upon what use we make of this inheritance. The problem of problems to-day is to master the technological forces created

by Science, and harness them to the *service*, instead of the *destruction*, of Humanity. "A new gigantic material framework for human affairs," as Mr. H. G. Wells has observed, "has come into existence. Clearly it demands great readjustments of our social, economical, and political methods."

In comparing Europe and Asia, with regard to their respective contributions to world civilisation, we had emphasised that, although we are accustomed to draw a contrast between them, '*Man, the universally progressive creature, is the one subject of World History.*' There is no East and West here, 'nor border nor breed.' 'Europe may be his workshop and Asia his dormitory for the time-being; but time was when the reverse was the case. The Sun may shine on only one side of the globe at a time; but no part of the earth is left in darkness for ever.' Hence, in our rapid survey, we have not thought in terms of continents or countries merely, but more in terms of Humanity as a whole. In the words of Lord Acton (quoted earlier), Universal History is 'distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of soul. It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary.' Their story has been, therefore, told here 'not for their own sake, but in reference and subordination to a higher series, according to the time and the degree in which they have contributed to the common fortunes of mankind.'

The bifurcation of the World into Europe and Asia is as untenable as the old assignment of its two hemispheres between Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI. This Kiplingian dichotomy of

East is East and West is West
And ne'er the twain shall meet

ought to give place to the truth that

East plus West
Is much the Best.

In spite of all its apparent conflicts and divisions this is the New Vision of Man that is striving for realisation in the World to-day. The First Steps in civilisation taken by Africa and Asia led on to the marvellous creative activity of Europe. But now it appears that the Oriental '*Conquest of Civilisation*' has culminated in the Occidental '*Ordeal of Civilisation*'—to use the phraseology of Breasted and Robinson. However, there could be little doubt that the World to be must be the creation of a united effort of Humanity as a whole; for Integration—not dis-integration—has been the dominant tendency of Universal History. From Palæolithic man to our times the World has become increasingly inter-dependent: waves might break and rivers may run dry, but the ocean cannot be split into puddles.

What the ancients perhaps dimly perceived is now being laboriously but accurately verified. Herein lies the significance of Pure science which is hardly to be distinguished from Philosophy. In essence, the problem of both is identical: it is Man's attempt to understand Life, to master all its complexities, and to attain the Platonic ideal of Truth, Beauty, Goodness. The East, particularly India, sought to realise these primarily through intuition, meditation, and the mystic ways of religion. The West, following the pragmatic path of Science, aimed at the same ideal and came by its materialistic civilisation. At the present moment the subjective Idealism of Asia and the objective Realism of Europe, meeting in apparent conflict, are engaged in producing the synthesis of a new Universalism.

Viewed in the perspective of Man's history from the very

beginning, this is the reality behind our contemporary struggles. Being engrossed each in his own part of the problem we seem to have lost sight of the whole. Like individual soldiers in a campaign we are obsessed with our own immediate and fragmentary pre-occupations. Fighting for a ditch here or a fence there appears to us the only purpose of our existence ; and it is not wrong that it should be so. But the campaign is that of Humanity ; our objectives are Truth, Beauty, Goodness. In the long course of our history we have not lost sight of our Goal, except partially and occasionally. We are not to be content with the mere intellectual appreciation of this tripple ideal, but we must translate it into the facts of life for all mankind. In the past ages Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, have been the dream of the many, but the possession of only a few—individuals or small groups. The aim of the Modern World is to make them universal.

Science has established to-day the unity of our existence—e.g., Newton by his discovery of the universality of gravitation, Darwin by his theory of evolution, Einstein by his contemplation of a space-time continuum, other scientists by their observation of radio-activity suggesting that matter is electricity. This is a more definite and demonstrable apprehension of the Truth vaguely and intuitively visualised by the World's earliest monists (like our own Vedantists). The latent Beauty of our Universe was first dimly perceived by primitive man. It aroused in him his æsthetic instinct and a craving for artistic expression and satisfaction. The history of art and literature on the one hand, and, on the other, the larger attempts made in modern society to impart a touch of beauty to everything concerning human life as a whole—not only for the elite—are the ideals of Beauty. While the history of "humanity"—at first the fruit of individual

virtue, but increasingly being collectively organised for 'the greatest good of the greatest number'—comprises mankind's realisation of Goodness. This is the meaning of the entire process of Human History in all its phases—intellectual, social, moral, political, æsthetic and economical. For this is the Science of History regarded 'noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.'

EPILOGUE

Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity. —SHELLEY

We may not conclude this *Brief Survey of Human History* without pointing out its limitations. We had started on this great task with the ambition 'to hold the mirror up to the whole pageant of man's life, and not merely to chronicle his political career.' We had said that 'Political history may form the basis, or rather supply the bony skeleton of our treatment, but it must be clothed with the flesh and blood of all-sided human activity, and animated by the indefatigable aspirations of man.' If the accomplishment has been less than this aspiration, the Reader will not also forget that Life is larger, deeper, greater, than even the most voluminous History can envisage. Hence we had necessarily, inevitably, to confine our attention to what appeared to be the most 'significant'—though the choice of the *significant* must vary with the point-of-view of each writer of History. As Macaulay said : 'History has its foreground and its background, and it is principally in the management of its perspective that one artist differs from another. Some events must be represented on a large scale, others diminished ; the great majority will be lost in the dimness of the horizon, and a general idea of their joint effect must be given by a few light touches.' But this is not without advantage. For, as Lamartine put it, 'Providence conceals itself in the details of human affairs, but becomes unveiled in the generalities of

history.' We have proceeded on the assumption of Samuel Butler that 'Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises' : it cannot be otherwise. 'The best thing which we derive from history,' Goethe said, 'is the enthusiasm it raises in us.' Dr. Johnson found its justification in the argument that : 'The present state of things is the consequence of the past ; and it is natural to enquire as to the sources of the good we enjoy or the evils we suffer. If we act only for ourselves, to neglect the study of history is not prudent ; if intrusted with the care of others, it is not just.' With all our omissions which, though inevitable, have been many and large, we have written with the motto so well formulated by Napoleon that 'An historian ought to be exact, sincere, and impartial ; free from passion, unbiassed by interest, fear, resentment, or affection ; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history, the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the direction of the future.'

'Life,' as Wordsworth wrote, 'is divided into three terms : that which was, which is, and which will be. Let us learn from the past to profit by the present, and from the present to live better for the future.'

CHRONOLOGY

SECTION FOUR

A.D.

- 871—901 Alfred the Great.
- 968 Hugh Capet.
- 1066—87 William the Conqueror.
- 1108—37 Louis VI.
- 1154—1204 Angevins in France.
- 1155—89 Henry II (England).
- 1180—1223 Philippe II (France).
- 1199—1216 King John of *Magna Carta*.
- 1226—70 (Saint) Louis IX.
- 1272—1307 Edward I.
- 1295 Model Parliament.
- 1301 Philippe IV (France) rejects secular authority of
the Pope.
- 1327—77 Edward III.
- 1338—1453 Hundred Years' War.
- 1348 Black Death.
- 1368—1644 Ming Dynasty.
- 1378—1417 Babylonish Captivity.
- 1381 Peasant's Revolt.
- 1413—22 Henry V.
- 1415 Battle of Agincourt.
- 1429 Joan of Arc takes Orleans.
- 1450 The English expelled from Normandy.
- 1453 Constantinople captured by Turks.
- 1455—85 Wars of the Roses.
- 1461—88 Louis XI.
- 1485—1603 Tudor Dynasty.
- 1493—1514 Maximilian I (Emperor).
- 1494—1559 'Italian Wars' of France.

A.D.	
1498—1589	House of Valois—Orleans.
1517	Europeans enter China.
1519—56	Charles V (Emperor).
1522—1603	Buddhist age in Japan.
1526	First battle of Panipat : Babur establishes Mughal Empire.
1533—84	William the Silent (Orange).
1534	Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy.
1549	St. Xavier in Japan.
1557—1707	Akbar to death of Aurangzeb.
1579	Europeans in Canton.
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1592	Japanese invade Korea.
1598	Hideyoshi Japanese jingo died.
1598	Edict of Nantes.
1598—1610	Henry IV (France).
1603—1616	Iyeyasu.
1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth.
1603—1868	Tokugawa Shogunate.
1605	Death of Akbar.
1613	Rise of Romanoffs.
1614	Christianity proscribed in Japan.
1618—48	Thirty years' war.
1619—37	Emperor Ferdinand II.
1620	May Flower "Pilgrim Fathers."
1622—73	Molière.
1623	Massacre of Amboyna.
1624—42	Louis XIII.
	Cardinal Richelieu.
1632	Battle of Lützen.
	Gustavus Adolphus defeated Wallenstein.
1637	The English at Canton.
1638	Persecution of Christians in Japan.
1640—88	Frederick the Great Elector.
1643—1715	Louis XIV.
1643—1661	Cardinal Mazarin.
1644—1912	Ching or Manchu Dynasty.
1646—80	Shivaji.
1648	Treaty of Westphalia.

A.D.

- 1649 Charles I executed.
- 1649—58 Cromwell.
- 1654 Treaty of Westminster. (Navigation Acts).
- 1657—1707 Aurangzeb.
- 1676—1708 Guru Govind Singh.
- 1679—1707 Ajit Singh and Durgadas.
- 1682—1725 Peter the Great.
- 1685 Sir Josiah Child dreams of British Empire in India.
- 1688 Glorious Revolution.
- 1688—1713 Frederick II.
- 1696 Peter became Czar.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswick.
- 1700 Spanish branch of Hapsburg ended.
- 1700—13 War of Spanish Succession.
- 1707—12 Bahadur Shah I.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1713—40 Frederick William I.
- 1715—74 Louis XV.
- 1740 Death of Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI.
- 1740—65 Maria Theresa.
- 1740—86 Frederick the Great.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1751 Clive takes Arcot.
- 1756 Diplomatic Revolution.
- 1756—63 Seven years' war.
- 1757 Battle of Plassey.
- 1759 Quebec captured by Wolfe.
- 1760—1820 George III.
- 1760 Col. Coote's victory at Wandewash.
- 1761 Pondicherry taken by the English.
- Third Battle of Panipat.
- 1762—96 Catherine II.
- 1763 Regulating Act.
- 1764 Battle of Buxar.
- 1765—90 Joseph II.
- 1769—79 Captain Cook's discoveries.
- 1772, 1793, 1795 Partitions of Poland.
- 1774—1833 Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
- 1774—92 Louis XVI.

A.D.	
1775—83	Revolt of American Colonies.
1789	French Revolution.
1792	English Embassy at Canton.
1793—94	Reign of Terror.
1797—1815	Napoleon Bonaparte.
1801—25	Alexander I.
1806	Austrian branch of Hapsburgs ended by Napoleon.
1815	Waterloo. Vienna Congress.
1817—98	Sir Saiyyad Ahmad.
1818	Maratha's finally overthrown.
1821	Mexico independent.
1822	Brazil independent.
1824—83	Swami Dayananda Saraswati.
1830, 1848	National and Democratic risings in Europe.
1832, 1867, 1884	Parliament Reforms.
1833	East India Co's opium monopoly in China cancelled.
1839—42	Opium Wars.
1842	Treaty of Nanking.
1842—1900	M. G. Ranade.
1849—73	Livingstone in Africa.
1853	Commodore Perry's adventure : Japan reopened for foreign intercourse.
1854—56	Crimean War.
1857	Mutiny in India.
1861	United Italy. Civil War in America.
1861—64	Taiping Revolt.
1866	Peking sacked by Europeans. Austria defeated by Germany at Sadowa.
1867—1912	Meiji Era in Japan.
1867—1918	Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.
1869	Suez Canal constructed by Lesseps.
1870	Murder of missionaries in China : occupation of Annam and Tongking by the French and Burma by the British.
1871	Paris occupied by the Germans after French defeat at Sedan. Treaty of Frankfort.
1875	The Third Republic in France.
1878	Treaty of Berlin.
1885	Indian National Congress founded.

A.D.

- 1888 Accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II.
- 1895—97 Swami Vivekananda in the West.
- 1897 Germans occupy Shantung.
- 1899 The Hague International Court.
- 1899—1900 Boxer Revolt in China.
- 1902—22 Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- 1904—5 Russo-Japanese War.
- 1911 George V's visit to India.
- 1912 China becomes a Republic. Sun Yat-Sen.
- 1914—18 The Great War.
- 1917—18 Russian Revolution.
- 1919 Treaty of Versailles.
- 1920 Treaty of Sevres.
- 1922 Washington Conference. Mussolini's march on Rome :
Fascist revolution.
- 1923 Lausanne Conference.
- 1924 Caliphate abolished by Turkey. Death of Lenin.
- 1933 Nazi revolution in Germany.
- 1935 Italian conquest of Abyssinia.
- 1936 Civil War in Spain.
- 1937 Sino-Japanese War begun.
- 1938 German coup in Austria.
Dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia.

APPENDIX A

COST OF THE GREAT WAR (1914-18)

Men Killed in Action or by Wounds :

Portugal	=	2,000
Greece	=	7,000
U. S. A.	=	49,000
Bulgaria	=	100,000
Roumania	=	100,000
Belgium	=	102,000
Serbia & Montenegro	=	125,000
Turkey	=	250,000
Italy	=	462,000
Austria	=	800,000
Br. Empire	=	900,000
France	=	1,385,000
Germany	=	1,600,000
Russia	=	1,700,000
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Total	=	7,582,000
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N. B.—This does not include men otherwise dead or missing. It is also to be remembered that those who were killed in action were the flower of the manhood of the belligerent countries.

DIRECT WAR EXPENDITURE IN DOLLARS

Japan & Greece	=	1,000,000,000
Turkey & Bulgaria	=	3,000,000,000
Belgium, Roumania, Portugal & Jugo-Slavia	=	5,000,000,000
Italy	=	13,000,000,000
Russia	=	18,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	=	21,000,000,000
U. S. A.	=	22,000,000,000
France	=	26,000,000,000
Br. Empire	=	38,000,000,000
Germany	=	39,000,000,000
		<hr/>
Total	=	186,000,000,000
		<hr/>

N. B.—This does not include value of property destroyed; yet it works out at 2,000 dollars for every mile of the distance from the Earth to the Sun! The total cost of all the wars during a century from 1815—1914 was only about \$ 25,000,000,000.

APPENDIX B

Expenditure on Armaments in Dollars

	1913	1930
Japan	= 96,000,000,000	232,000,000,000
Italy	= 179,000,000,000	259,000,000,000
France	= 349,000,000,000	455,000,000,000
Germany	= 463,000,000,000	170,000,000,000
Gr. Britain	= 375,000,000,000	535,000,000,000
U. S. S. R.	= 448,000,000,000	579,000,000,000
U. S. A.	= 245,000,000,000	728,000,000,000

N. B.—Enormous as these figures are the expenditure in recent years has been incredibly increased. The above expenditure works out per head of the population (1930) at \$ 3 in Germany, 4 in Japan and Russia, 7 in U. S. A., 8 in Italy, 11 in Gr. Britain, and 13 in France. The percentage of the National Budget being 5 in Germany, 14 in Gr. Britain, 17 in U. S. A., 22 in France and 24 in Italy.

In 1934 the total military expenditure of Russia, France, Britain, Italy, U. S. A., Japan, Roumania, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Germany, Austria, and Hungary was £639,030,074. The highest was Russia, next came France, third Japan, and fourth Germany.

APPENDIX C

The Fighting Forces of the Powers to-day

		Regular Army	Organised Reserve	Trained Manpower	Available in a Week's Mobilization
France	=	580,000	5,420,000	6,000,000	1,000,000
Germany	=	700,000	2,000,000	2,700,000	1,250,000
Austria	=	60,000	190,000	250,000	150,000
Italy	=	450,000	1,000,000	1,450,000	950,000
Russia	=	1,000,000	14,000,000	15,000,000	1,500,000
Gr. Britain	=	100,000	350,000	450,000	200,000
Turkey	=	160,000	540,000	700,000	200,000
Belgium	=	90,000	700,000	790,000	200,000
U. S. A.	=	128,000	291,000	419,000	239,000
Japan	=	250,000	2,000,000	2,250,000	700,000

Air and Naval Forces Total Personnel

		Air	Navy
France	=	40,000	117,933
Germany	=	100,000	54,700
Italy	=	60,000	103,163
Russia	=	50,000	23,600
Gr. Britain	=	70,000	185,586
U. S. A.	=	38,000	192,824
Japan	=	10,000	159,839

APPENDIX D

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Select Clauses from the Covenant)

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security,

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments,

and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.—Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intentions to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League,...

ARTICLE 2.—The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 7.—The Seat of the League is established at Geneva. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

ARTICLE 10.—The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. . . .

ARTICLE 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual. . . .

ARTICLE 16.—Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

ARTICLE 18.—Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 22.—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

ARTICLE 23.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations ;

- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connexion, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914—18 shall be borne in mind ;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

N. B.—The first great European to forestall this idea of a Committee of Nations for securing the Peace of the World was the Dutchman Hugo Grotius (1583—1645) whose motto in life was : ‘I shall never cease to use my utmost endeavours for establishing peace among Christians ; and if I should not succeed it will be honourable to die in such an endeavour.’ The great book he wrote was called *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* or Concerning the Law of War and Peace. In it he examined various methods by which international questions might be settled without war, and proposed the idea of conferences and international arbitration. ‘But especially are Christian Kings and States’, he wrote, ‘bound to try this way of avoiding war.’ An equally earnest Christian missionary more recently declared :

The League of Nations is the one great hope of the world. The Peace we must have can come no other way. The present opportunity is without a parallel in human history. The hour

is great, even the greatest in the long story of troubled man. There is nothing like it in the crowded annals of the mighty centuries. Lose it, and all is lost. Let it go, and the flood gates will not be long before they open and the deluge of misery and death will overwhelm us. Lose it, and the generation that follows will scorn us for our blindness and cowardice, or want of zeal and enthusiasm for the welfare of the world. The opportunity creates a sacred and solemn obligation. Before us is the chance to save the future! Woe to us!—unutterable woe to us if we let it slip by unused.

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Ordeal of Humanity

A BRIEF SURVEY OF HUMAN HISTORY

PART II

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M. A.

*Professor of History, Willingdon College, Sangli,
Author of 'Mughal Empire in India', 'The Crescent in India'.*



KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY 2

Part 1 published June 1938.

Acc. No.	13291
Class No.	G.1.1
Book No.	108

Printed by M. N. KULKARNI at the KARNATAK PRINTING PRESS, Chira Bazar,
Bombay, and published by him at the KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Chira Bazar, Bombay 2.

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SECTION THREE

Herein is described the transition from the Ancient to the Modern world: Chapter XV deals with *The Rise of Islam* which vitally affected the history of both Asia and Europe. In Chapter XVI are revealed the unsuccessful efforts *Towards Better Order in Europe* made by the Holy Roman Emperors, leading to the historic rivalry between Church and State. Chapter XVII shows *The Sway of the Cross* through the power of the Popes, the Monastic Orders, and the Crusades. *Medieval Life in Europe* in all its phases is described in Chapter XVIII, while Chapter XIX throws a flood of light on *The East in Medieval Times*, particularly China, India, and Greater India. The great discoveries and intellectual movements in *The Age of Expansion* form the subject matter of Chapter XX, and their culmination in *The Reformation in Europe* is dealt with in Chapter XXI.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE RISE OF ISLAM

Islam prevailed because it was the best social and political order the times could offer...It was the broadest, freshest, and cleanest political idea that had yet come into actual activity in the world, and it offered better terms than any other to the mass of mankind.—H. G. WELLS

The transition from the Ancient World to the Modern is difficult to express in definite chronological terms. But the line, however arbitrary, must be drawn somewhere. In the history of Europe the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) is taken as a clear turning point. In the history of India, the commencement of Mughal rule (1526) is considered by some as a suitable stage from which to begin our 'modern' period. However, both these happenings in the history of the World had their beginnings in the Rise of Islam, which therefore may be taken, for all practical purposes, as the 'watershed' which divides the two streams in World History. Geographically, the home of Islam affords a corridor between Europe and Asia ; while culturally also it shares the characteristics of more than one civilisation. Though Arabia played no direct part in the history of humanity so far traced by us, that peninsula was the reservoir from which the various branches of the Semitic race, the Babylonians, the Israelites, the Phœnicians, etc., 'moved out and vitally affected the course of human history. Arabia

had also been, though only nominally, a province of several Empires in succession, viz., of Egypt, Persia, Macedonia, Rome, and Constantinople. But it was now her turn to build up an Empire of her own which would challenge comparison with the greatest. This was due to the sudden rise of a new religion.

For centuries before Muhammad preached Islam (622-632 A.D.) the people of Arabia had stagnated in the back-waters of their desert peninsula. They led a wild and nomadic life of unrelieved tribal struggles, except during a part of the year when, as in ancient Greece during the Olympic festivities, the 'truce of God' was proclaimed to enable all the Arabs to meet in Mecca for worship at the shrine of *Kaaba*. This comprised a cubical black stone, which was believed to have fallen from Heaven, and supplied the only unifying factor in an otherwise chaotic world. For the rest of the year the Arabs worshipped their own tribal deities, indulged in their blood-feuds, or revelled in their incontinent orgies. Music was the only elevating influence in their lives. It was in such a world that the Prophet Muhammad was born (c. 570 A.D.). He belonged to the distinguished clan of Qureishis, who controlled the sacred shrine of *Kaaba*, though his family was rather poor in worldly possessions.

Nothing eventful happened to Muhammad until he was forty years of age, unless it be his marriage with a rich widow named Kadijah who was by several years his senior. Then came his great 'conversion' when the Angel Gabriel brought to him the message of *Allah*. After this revelation Muhammad boldly proclaimed his famous gospel : "*There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His prophet.*" Although this formula has become to-day the creed of about 300,000,000 people (of whom over one-fifth are in India), the Prophet was not honoured at first in his own land. Like

most reformers he was persecuted by his own people in Mecca, and had to seek shelter in another city since named Medina—Madinat-un-Nabi or the Prophet's City. His flight or *Hijrah* took place in 622 A.D. and marks the first year of the Muslim Era. After the decisive battle of Badr, Muhammad returned victorious to Mecca and, before his death in 632 A.D., made himself the master over the entire peninsula.

The successors of Muhammad in leadership were called the *Caliphs*. Within a century of the Prophet's death they carried his message to thousands of people in the three continents of Africa, Europe, and Asia. Though in course of time, they split up into the three corresponding *Caliphates* of Cairo in Africa, Cordoba in Europe, and Bagdad in Asia, for a hundred years they acted as one inspired man. *Islam* meant 'submission to God', and those who accepted this creed had above all to submit to the five disciplines of the faith: (1) Belief in the *One* God and Muhammad as His prophet; (2) the duty of praying five times daily; (3) giving alms to the poor; (4) fasting in the whole month of *Ramzan*; and (5) making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The teachings of Muhammad were collected in a volume called the *Koran*. This and the Hadis or 'traditions' constitute the scripture of the Muhammadans. The Prophet during his lifetime was both their spiritual leader and temporal ruler. Hence Islamic society to begin with was a *Theocracy*. Soon after Muhammad's death a dispute arose as to the succession. Some were for the Prophet's son-in-law Ali; others for electing the Caliph. The former, called the *Shiites*, were defeated; and the latter, known as the *Summi*, triumphed. This rent Muslim society for all time into two hostile camps, though there are no fundamental differences of creed between them. Arabia represents the latter, and Persia the former. In India there are representatives of both the sects. For the

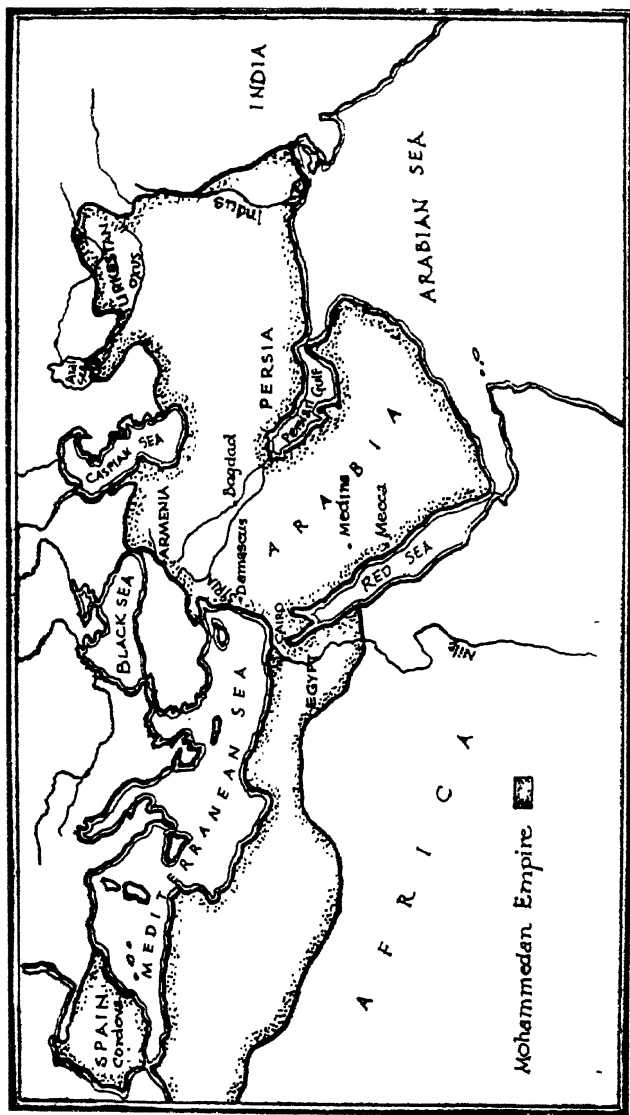
purpose of this history however, we might regard the Muslims as one homogeneous community.


The spirit of Islam in the early days, when the ferocious and fanatical Turks had not yet been converted, is well represented in the following words of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph, cited by Gibbon :

“ In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. This is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.

“ Remember that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression ; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs ; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way : let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries : and you will find another sort of people, that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns : be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedans or pay tribute.”

With the conversion of the Turks and other savage peoples, Islam tended to follow more and more the closing part of this message rather than its nobler portions. The tribute exacted from the infidels was called the *jiziya*. The Jews and the Christians were treated with consideration as ‘ the people of the Book ’ as Muhammad drew much of his own theology from their traditions. “ We believe in God ”, declares the



Mohammedan Empire 

THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM.

Koran, "and in what hath been sent down to us and what hath been sent down to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses and to Jesus and to the prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between them ; and to Him we are resigned ; and who so desireth any other religion than Islam, it shall by no means be accepted from him, and in the next world he will be among the lost." (iii., 78-79).

The conquests of Islam were very rapid. They extended, in about a century, over the whole of Arabia, Asia-Minor, North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, the Iberian peninsula, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Sind. This was partly due to the innate driving force of the new faith, and partly owing to the weakness of Europe and Persia. The Eastern Roman Empire under Heraclius and Persia under the Sassanian Khosroes II had exhausted each other by incessant war. They could offer no effective resistance against the new force. In the West, however, the Islamic thrust across the Pyrenees into Gaul was checked by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. In the East, already in 717 A.D. they had failed to carry Constantinople by storm, but in 737 at the battle of Kadessia Persia was subjugated. "At the close of the first century of the *Hegira*", Gibbon observes, "the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe." Though we may not enter into the chequered history of the Caliphate we must at least describe here its glory under the most famous of the Caliphs, viz. Haroun-al-Raschid of the *Arabian Nights*, who died in 809 A.D. In this time, according to Sir Mark Sykes,

"The Imperial Court was polished, luxurious, and unlimitedly wealthy ; the capital, Bagdad, was a gigantic mercantile city surrounding a huge administrative fortress, wherein every department of state had a properly regulated and well-ordered public

office ; where schools and colleges abounded ; whither philosophers, students, doctors, poets, and theologians came from all parts of the civilized globe. The provincial capitals were embellished with vast public buildings, and linked together by an effective and rapid service of posts and caravans ; the frontiers were secure and well garrisoned, the army loyal, efficient and brave ; the governors and ministers honest and forbearing. The empire stretched with equal strength and unimpaired control from the Cilician gates to Aden, and from Egypt to Central Asia. Christians, Pagans, Jews, as well as Moslems, were employed in the government service. . . . Traffic and wealth had taken the place of revolution and famine. . . . Pestilence and disease were met by imperial hospitals and government physicians. . . . In government business the rough-and-ready methods of Arabian administration had given place to a complicated system of Divans, initiated partly from the Roman, but chiefly taken from the Persian system of government. Posts, Finance, Privy Seal, Crown Lands, Justice and Military Affairs were each administered by separate bureaux in the hands of ministers and officials ; an army of clerks, scribes, writers and accountants swarmed into these offices and gradually swept the whole power of the government into their own hands by separating the Commander of the Faithful from any direct intercourse with his subjects.

" The Imperial Palace and the entourage were equally based on Roman and Persian precedents. Eunuchs, closely veiled ' harems ' of women, guards, spies, go-betweens, jesters, poets, and dwarfs clustered around the person of the Commander of the Faithful, each, in his degree, endeavouring to gain the royal favour and indirectly distracting the royal mind from affairs of business and state.

" Meanwhile the mercantile trade of the East poured gold into Bagdad, and supplemented the other enormous stream of money derived from the contributions of plunder and loot despatched to the capital by the commanders of the victorious raiding forces which harried Asia Minor, India, and Turkestan. The seemingly unending supply of Turkish slaves and Byzantine specie added to the richness of the revenues of Irak and, combined with the vast commercial traffic of which Bagdad was the centre, produced a large and powerful moneyed class, composed of the sons of generals, officials, landed proprietors, royal favourites, merchants,

and the like who encouraged the arts, literature, philosophy, and poetry as the mood took them, building palaces for themselves, vying with each other in the luxury of their entertainments, suborning poets to sound their praises, dabbling in philosophy, supporting various schools of thought, endowing charities, and, in fact, behaving as the wealthy have always behaved in all ages."¹

The above description indicates a great change in the Arabs brought about by their successes. In the first place, the wild but simple Bedouins of the desert were now pampered with soul-destroying luxury. Secondly, the democratic spirit of the earlier days of Islam had given place to an insupportable autocracy. And thirdly, the Empire of the Crescent having grown to unwieldy proportions split up into several regional and dynastic kingdoms. The last blow to the tottering Caliphate of Bagdad came from the Turko-Mongolian invasions. The glorious capital of the Commander of the Faithful, proudly described by an Arab historian as "the eye of Iraq, the seat of Empire, the centre of beauty, culture and arts," was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. Before that catastrophe Bagdad had been the cultural capital of the Middle East where flocked the great savants of all countries from East and West alike. Not the least important of these were from India, and in the opinion of Mr. E. B. Havell, "It was India, not Greece, that taught Islam in the impressionable years of its youth, formed its philosophy and esoteric religious ideals, and inspired its most characteristic expression in literature, art, and architecture." Without being so partisan we might believe that the Arabs built up an eclectic civilisation drawing the best from the various parts of their far-flung dominions, and fusing everything in the fire of their new born zeal.

1. Cited by H. G. Wells in *The Outline of History*.

Bagdad, however, was not the only centre of Islamic culture. Cairo and Cordoba were of equal importance. Leaving the story of the further fortunes of Islam in the East to another chapter, we might here say something about Spain where the Arab civilisation outlived the misfortunes of the Abbasids in the East. The Arabs first established themselves in the Iberian peninsula in 711 A.D. Their leader Tariq gave to their landing place its name of *Jabal-ut-Tariq* (Gibraltar) or the Rock of Tariq. Though checked by the Franks in the north, their kingdom in Spain endured for five hundred years till the capture of its capital, Cordoba, in 1236 A.D. by the Christian king of Castile. Even then the Arab kingdom of Granada in the south held out for another two hundred and fifty-six years when it was finally extinguished in 1492 A.D. During all these seven hundred and eighty years, the *Moors*, as the Muslims were called in Spain, organised a wonderful kingdom, "which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learning and civilization bright and shining before the western world."

Cordoba itself in the tenth century is spoken of as "the most civilised city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world." It had seventy libraries and 900 public baths. Whenever the Christian rulers of Leon, Navarre or Barcelona required a surgeon, an architect, a dress-maker, or a singing-master, it was to Cordoba that they applied; while the *Madinatu-l-Zahar*, the summer palace in the vicinity of Cordoba struck the imagination of travellers as if it were the dream palace of the *Arabian Nights*. "It cannot be denied," writes Mr. J. B. Trend, "that while Europe lay for the most part in misery and decay, both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Muslims created a splendid civilization and an

organized economic life. Muslim Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy, and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante. Then, if ever, Spain was 'the torch of Europe.'"¹

In the field of philosophy alone two names are famous throughout Europe, viz. Avicenna and Averroes. The former whose real name was Abū 'Alī-al-Ḥusayn ibn Sīnā (980-1037 A.D.) was one of the greatest scholars of the Islamic world. Though primarily a philosopher he made valuable contributions to medicine and science as well. His *Canon of Medicine* was an encyclopædia dealing with general medicine, simple drugs, diseases affecting all parts of the body, special pathology and pharmacopoeia. It was greatly in demand in its Latin translation down to the seventeenth century. "Probably no medical work ever written has been so much studied," writes Dr. Max Meyerhof, "and it is still in current use in the Orient."² The name of Averroes was Abū 'l-Walīd ibn Rushd (1126-98 A.D.). "Averroism continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science."³

The Golden Age of Islamic science and medicine was from about 900 A.D. to about 1100 A.D. The *al-Hāwī* or 'Comprehensive Book' by Rhazes (c. 865-925 A.D.) may be cited for illustration. It is considered as perhaps the most extensive work ever written by a medical man. For each disease Rhazes first cites all the Greek, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Indian authors, and at the end gives his own opinion and experiences, and he preserves many striking examples of his

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 5

2. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

clinical insight. The following observations by him on small-pox and measles are interesting :—

The outbreak of small-pox is preceded by continuous fever, aching in the back, itching in the nose and shivering during sleep. The main symptoms of its presence are : back-ache with fever, stinging pain in the whole body, congestion of the face, sometimes shrinkage, violent redness of the cheeks and eyes, a sense of pressure in the body, creeping of the flesh, pain in the throat and breast accompanied by difficulty of respiration and coughing, dryness of the mouth, thick salivation, hoarseness of the voice, head-ache and pressure in the head, excitement, anxiety, nausea and unrest. Excitement, nausea and unrest are more pronounced in measles than in small-pox, while the aching in the back is more severe in small-pox than in measles.¹

The name of al-Bīrūnī (973-1048) is familiar to readers of early Muslim history in India. He came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni. But few, perhaps, realise the nature of his contributions to various branches of knowledge. Familiarly known as 'the master' (*al-ustādh*) he was a physician, astronomer, mathematician, physicist, geographer and historian. In physics his greatest achievement is the nearly exact determination of the specific weight of eighteen precious stones and metals. But, by far the most important of Muslim scientists of this age was Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen) of Basra (965 A.D.). Though his original work in Arabic, *On Optics*, is lost, it has survived in Latin translation. In it he opposes the theory of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sends out visual rays to the object of vision. He discusses the propagation of light and colours, optic illusions and reflection, with experiments for testing the angles of incidence and reflection. In examining the refraction of light-rays through transparent mediums "he

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, pp. 323-24.

comes very near to the theoretical discovery of magnifying lenses, which was made practically in Italy three centuries later, while more than six centuries were to pass before the law of sines was established by Snell and Descartes. Roger Bacon (13th century) and all medieval Western writers on optics—notably the Pole Witelo or Vitellio base their optical works on Alhazen's *Opticae Thesaurus*. His work also influenced Leonardo da Vinci and Johann Kepler.¹

As often we have done in previous chapters we must reluctantly bring this chapter also to a close, with a sense of incompleteness. For a fuller survey of Muslim, particularly Arabic, civilisation we must refer the reader to *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford University Press). In architecture they produced a wonder of the world like the Alhambra in Granada. In the minor arts too they made valuable contributions, too numerous to be described here. "In manufactures," one writer has pointed out, "they surpassed the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing. They had many processes of dressing leather and their work was famous throughout Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers. They fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. They knew how to graft and were able to produce some new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East." They also built hospitals with trained physicians and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

nurses. They produced a number of versatile and profound scholars. They made permanent contributions to European science and vocabularies (e.g. words like *sofa*, *tariff*, *algebra*, etc.). Omar Khayyam who is celebrated as a Persian poet wrote in Arabic a book of the first rank on *Algebra*. Summing up the scientific contributions of the Arabs, Baron Carra de Vaux observes :

“They taught the use of ciphers, although they did not invent them, and thus became the founders of the arithmetic of everyday life ; they made algebra an exact science and developed it considerably and laid the foundation of analytical geometry ; they were indisputably the founders of plane and spherical trigonometry which, properly speaking, did not exist among the Greeks. In astronomy they made a number of valuable observations. They preserved for us in their translations a number of Greek works, the originals of which have been lost . . . for which services we cannot be too grateful to them. Another reason for our interest in Arab science is the influence it has had in the West. The Arabs kept alive the higher intellectual life and the study of science in a period when the Christian West was fighting desperately with barbarism. The zenith of their activity may be placed in the ninth and tenth centuries, but it was continued down to the fifteenth. From the twelfth century every one in the West who had any taste for science, some desire for light, turned to the East or to the Moorish West. At this period the works of Arabs began to be translated as those of the Greeks had previously been by them. The Arabs thus formed a bond of union, a connecting link between ancient culture and modern civilization. When at the Renaissance the spirit of man was once again filled with zeal for knowledge and stimulated by the spark of genius, if it was able to set promptly to work, to produce and invent, it was because the Arabs had preserved and perfected various branches of knowledge, kept the spirit of research alive and eager and maintained it pliant and ready for future discoveries.”

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TOWARDS BETTER ORDER IN EUROPE

Out of the energetic movement of the Frankish Empire Europe emerges in its mediæval shape. Over against the Greek world ruled from Byzantium, and the Saracen world governed from Bagdad and Cordova, is the vast territory of Latin Christianity stretching from the Ebro to the Carpathians acknowledging rule of the Frankish Empire and the Pope of Rome.

—H. A. L. FISHER

The fall of the Roman Empire is characterised by Gibbon as "the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind." We have described earlier how the Dark Age followed or rather synchronised with that catastrophe. Europe took long to recover from the protracted agony of the barbarian invasions. They poured into Europe from the North and the East and seemed to destroy the entire order created by Rome. The division of the Roman Empire was a sign of weakness rather than a measure of administrative convenience. The Western Empire was virtually extinguished, as we have noticed, in 476 A.D., when Odoacer drove away Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Empire survived, at least in outward appearance, for another thousand years (1453) no doubt. But in reality the whole of Europe was sunk in chaos. It was owing to this weakness that Islam in the course of a century, could develop into the mightiest power in the Mediterranean. However,

all this was only a temporary relapse. The effective resistance offered to the Arabs at Tours (732) in the West and at Constantinople (717) in the East indicated the reviving strength of Europe. The two active agents in the recovery of Europe were the barbarians and Christianity. We shall see in the course of this chapter how Europe was moving towards a better order in all phases of her life.

The most successful of the barbarians in the West were the Franks. They dominated the whole of Western and Central Europe from the fifth to the ninth centuries, and were instrumental in bequeathing to Europe traditions of unity and orderly government originally derived from Rome. They occupied the territories now differentiated as Germany, Austria, and France, which at that time formed parts of the common Frankish Empire. Then there was neither French nor German, but only West Frank and East Frank. The greatest of their rulers was the celebrated Charlemagne or Charles the Great (768-814). He deserved the title, as we shall see, more than most others in history. His ideal was not mere conquest, but organisation and enlightenment as well. He was a worthy friend of the great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid about whom we have read already.

We need go no farther back into the history of the Franks than Charles Martel, who drove away the Arabs at the battle of Tours (732), in order to realise the value of the services rendered by them to European civilisation. Some have regretted that the Arabs did not win in that famous engagement. For instance, Professor Robinson says, "had they been permitted to settle in Southern France they might have developed science and art far more rapidly than did the Franks."¹ But the verdict of subsequent history has been

1. J. H. Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 81.

unmistakable. Had the Muslims instead of the Christians (for the Franks had become Christians by then) been victorious at Tours, the character of European civilisation would certainly have been different.

Charles Martel died in 741. He had been virtually ruler over a vast territory, though nominally he was only "Mayor of the Palace" under the effete Merovingian kings. His son and successor Pepin was therefore anointed by Pope Stephen and recognised as king "by the grace of God." This inaugurated the Carolingian dynasty of which Charlemagne was the greatest ruler. In return for the Papal recognition Pepin had been called upon to rescue the States of North Italy from the domination of the Lombards. Their restoration to the sovereignty of the See of St. Peter was the beginning of the "Roman Question,"—one of the naughtiest problems created by the Medieval Ages. Its confirmation was secured when Charles the Great was actually crowned, under very similar circumstances in 800, by Pope Leo III. The Pope had been accused of high crimes, by his domestic enemies, and beaten and imprisoned. Charles who was Leo's most powerful supporter restored and exonerated him. His reward was his coronation as "Charles Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-loving Emperor of the Romans." The legacy of this pompous heritage to Europe was an age-long dispute between Pope and Emperor for hegemony over the faithful. To this aspect of that epoch-making event we shall revert later. Before doing so we must assess the work of Charlemagne himself.

During his long reign Charles had to lead several hard campaigns against the Danes, Saxons, Slavs, Avars, and Lombards. In subduing or breaking them he was creating order out of the chaos of the Dark Ages. But, however

arduous, this was not his greatest or noblest work. In the words of Professor Fisher :

"He was bold yet deliberate, genial and yet exact, popular and yet formidable. A vast appetite for animal enjoyment was combined in him with the cardinal gifts of statesmanship, a spacious vision, strong common sense, a flawless memory, and a tenacious will. It was part of his strength that he attempted nothing impossible, and asked no more of his people than they were able to accomplish. To his Frankish warriors he was the ideal chief, tall and stout, animated and commanding, with flashing blue eyes and aquiline nose, a mighty hunter before the Lord. That he loved the old Frankish songs, used Frankish speech, and affected the traditional costume of his race—the high-laced boots, the cross-gartered scarlet hose, the linen tunic, and square mantle of white or blue—that he was simple in his needs, and sparing in food and drink, were ingratiating features in a rich and wholesome character. Yet in the habits of daily life he was a Frank to the marrow; in all matters pertaining to culture and religion he was prepared to obey the call and extend the influence of his Roman priests....It is one of the highest titles of Charlemagne to fame that he used his great authority to promote the revival of intellectual life on the illiterate continent of Europe....What is important to notice is the new place which, with the advent of Charles, learning and education are made to take in the life of the court and the country, the concentration of foreign men of learning round the person of the king, the travelling academy or school of the palace which follows him even on his campaigns, the equal terms with which he associates with his scholar friend, his strong insistence on literacy as a qualification for a clerical career and for preferment in the church, the establishment of diocesan and monastic schools, and the encouragement given to the multiplication, correction, and gathering together of books....The earliest copies of twelve of the great Latin classics are due to the scribes of the Carolingian Renaissance."¹

1. H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe*, pp. 156-161.

According to another writer, "with Charlemagne the building of the modern world begins." With him the long spell of barbarism and anarchy seemed to have come to a close. His *capitularies* or statutes revealed his masterful administrative abilities, and his personality was powerful enough to regulate the conflicting interests between the religious and secular powers; while the cultural and intellectual interest of Charles indicated a revival, not only of ordered government, but also of civilisation. But his Empire could not escape from the bane of all strong monarchies, viz. weak successors.

We need not study in detail the events that followed. Charlemagne was succeeded by his son Louis the Pious, and he by his three sons Lothaire, Charles, and Louis,—but not without a war of succession. At the treaties of Verdun (843) and Mersen (870) the vast dominions of Charlemagne were divided into three kingdoms. Charles got the West-Frankish territories (constituting modern France), and Louis the East-Frankish territories (comprising modern Germany). To Lothaire was left the hinterland which has ever since been the bone of contention between France and Germany. The former was thoroughly Latinised and the latter remained Teutonic. Meanwhile the whole of the Frankish dominions were tending to be more and more disrupted, until a fresh effort was made towards union under the leadership of Otto the Saxon (East Frank or German).

This was the beginning of the famous "Holy Roman Empire" (962). It lasted, in anything like its original idea, only three centuries; but centuries of continual struggle between Pope and Emperor, during the first of which (962-1056) the Emperor prevailed, and during the last two—the period of the Crusades (1056-1254)—the Pope triumphed. After this, though the imperial title was retained by Teuton

monarchs, the Empire in its original form was at an end.

From the point of view of the restoration of order in Europe, which is the only significant viewpoint for us here, the dynastic history of Otto's successors may be very briefly told. The outstanding figures are those of Henry IV (1056-1106) and Frederick Barbarosa (Red Beard, 1152-1190), though the latter belonged to a different family,—the Hohenstaufen. The reigns of both were marked by the titanic struggle with the Popes. Frederick failed where Henry had at least partially succeeded. The two together indicate the trend of medieval European civilisation.

Otto the Great like Charlemagne had received the imperial crown from the Pope (962). But unlike Charles the Great his relations with the head of the Roman Church were fraught with dire consequences. They reached a climax under Henry IV and continued to trouble Europe for several generations. Briefly put, the German monarchs considered themselves thereafter as Roman Emperors no less (or perhaps even more) than German kings. This made them concentrate on dominating over Italy instead of maintaining orderly government in their own country. While such a policy resulted in postponing the day of German unification, it also set to Europe one of its toughest problems. Feudal anarchy thrived in Central Europe while the Emperors distracted themselves with futile quarrels with the Popes. The cause of the struggle, though it might appear trivial now, was considered most vital by both parties in those times. In effect it was the question whether the Pope or the Emperor should be regarded as supreme in Christendom. Both were trying to arrogate to themselves the myth of a bygone age, viz. the ideal of Theocracy.

There may be little doubt about the secular sovereignty of the Emperor and the spiritual sovereignty of the

Pope. But unfortunately society, especially in medieval Europe, was incapable of such dichotomy. Each party was desirous of exclusive authority and none prepared to accept a compromise. Indeed, conflict was inevitable owing to overlapping jurisdictions, and an impartial tribunal was lacking. Under the circumstances the logic of Pope Gregory VII seemed arrogant and presumptuous in the eyes of Henry IV and his supporters, and irreproachable in the eyes of the orthodox. 'He explained, kindly but firmly, to William the Conqueror, that the papal and kingly powers are both established by God as the greatest among the authorities of the world, just as the sun and moon are the greatest of the heavenly bodies. But the papal power is obviously superior to the kingly, for it is responsible for it; at the Last Day Gregory would have, he urged, to render an account of the king as one of the flock intrusted to his care.'¹

The difficulty was not one of merely accepting theoretical claims to superiority but of enforcing actual authority in the field of administration. The Church had acquired vast estates through gifts from the faithful, and these were administered by the bishops and other Church dignitaries. Though it was the practice for these officials to be elected, as holders of property it was of utmost interest to the king as to who was elected. There were also a number of bishops and archbishops who were armed noblemen holding lands on feudal terms, and hence subject to their overlord the king. Some priests had become so worldly-minded that they married and got interested in making provision for their families. The practice of "simony" or selling spiritual offices "for a consideration" had also come into vogue.

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

The king therefore naturally thought that the cloak of clericalism could not give immunity from temporal obligations. Nay, in the heat of rivalry, he even claimed appointing authority, from the bishop to the Pope himself. Thus the right of "investiture" became the crux of the quarrel. Were the Church officials to be invested with authority by the Pope or the Emperor? The Pope rebutted the claims of the Emperor by attempting to appoint the person of his own choice to the imperial office. The dispute soon degenerated into a series of unseemly attacks and counter-attacks by both parties. Each tried to win over to itself the allegiance of the adherents of the other party. Gregory declared Henry excommunicated and deposed; Henry got the German clergy to deny the authority of Gregory. Rival Popes and Emperors were sought to be set up. On one occasion Henry in a penitent mood humiliated himself before the Pope at Canossa and admitted himself in the wrong. But the reconciliation was only temporary. Tempers again flared up, and finally Henry besieged Gregory in his very palace, and the greatest of the medieval Popes died with the words "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile" on his lips.

This was only the climax and not the end of the struggle. However, a workable compromise was reached under Henry V (1106-25) and Pope Paschal II. By the Concordat of Worms (1122) the controversy over investitures in Germany was settled. The Emperor renounced his claim to invest the clergy with the religious emblems of the ring and the crosier, and promised not to interfere with Church elections. But the elections were to be held in the Emperor's presence and the bishop or abbot elected was to hold the fiefs and administrative powers under the Emperor, which was symbolised by a touch of the sceptre.

But matters again reached a crisis when Fredrick Barbarosa (1152—90) came to the throne. He was the most famous of the medieval Emperors after Charlemagne. He was ambitious to restore the glory and power of the Roman Empire, and claimed to be the successor of the Cæsars as well as of Charlemagne and Otto the Great. He declared that his office was bestowed upon him by God no less than was the Papal See. This brought him into conflict with the Pope. The old struggle revived. But the flourishing towns of North Italy (about which we shall learn more later) were now on the side of the Church. They hated the German Emperor no less than the Pope did. They formed a powerful union known as the Lombard League to oppose Frederick, and refused to pay taxes to a foreign ruler from across the Alps. At the end of a series of expeditions all that Barbarosa succeeded in achieving was to make the Lombard League merely acknowledge his overlordship, leaving its members free to act as they liked.

As a counterpoise to the defection of the Northern cities, Frederick tried to secure a hold upon South Italy by marrying Constance, the heiress of Naples and Sicily, to his son. But the Pope being the feudal lord of these cities, this introduced a fresh complication into the struggle. Finally, worn out by some forty years of fighting in Germany and Italy, Frederick sought to divert himself by going on a Crusade. This proved his last venture, for he lost his life on his way to the Holy Land.

Meanwhile, his son (who had married the heiress of South Italy) too was carried away by fever, leaving an infant heir to the troublesome inheritance. This was Frederick II (1212—50). Though he developed into a contemptible figure, he possessed marvellous ability and extraordinary energy. "He drew up an elaborate code of laws for his

southern realms and may be said to have founded the first modern well-regulated state, in which the king was indisputably supreme."¹ In his earlier years he was the contemporary of Innocent III, one of the greatest of the Popes. Though he had been brought up under the Muslim Culture of Sicily (the island was under the Saracens from 827—1060) Frederick II had promised Innocent III to go on a Crusade sometime. In the fulfilment of this undertaking Frederick proved eminently successful, for he actually brought the Holy City (Jerusalem) under Christian rule and was himself declared its king. But this was a shortlived triumph. The Popes were not to be appeased. Their rivalries once again revived, and Frederick like Henry IV was excommunicated and deposed. After his death, in 1250, Sicily was lost to the Hohenstaufens. The Pope bestowed the island upon its French conquerors under Charles Anjou, the brother of St. Louis. Thus ended the German attempt to revive the glories of the Roman Empire. Europe, particularly Central Europe, continued to welter in anarchy, though German kings pompously proclaimed themselves Emperors. A confused group of duchies, counties, bishoprics, archbishoprics, abbacies, free towns, and all manner of feudal estates, asserted each its practical independence of the nominal kings. There was to be no imperial way yet out of the chaos of the Middle Ages.

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 136.



CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE SWAY OF THE CROSS

The imperial government in the West was soon overthrown by the barbarian conquerors, but the Catholic Church converted and ruled these conquerors. When the officers of the Empire deserted their posts, the bishops stayed to meet the oncoming invader. They continued to represent the old civilization and ideas of order.

—J. H. ROBINSON

Throughout the Middle Ages in Europe there was only one unifying force and that was the Roman Catholic Church. It was the one central light which continued to shine brightly through the medieval darkness. It triumphed over all obstacles and became the only refuge of civilisation where everything else seemed to succumb to the barbarians. It survived the shock of the Hunnish invasions from the East as well as the German and other invasions from the North. It outlived the Roman Empire, both Western and Eastern, and became the champion of European society, religion, and culture when they were threatened by the rise of the Islamic power, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. In spite of schisms and defections it has survived to this day as one of the most potent forces coming down to the modern world from the past. Such a tenacious movement in human history deserves to be studied with close attention, though such a study may be beset with some difficulties.

The principal difficulty is, of course, of partisan views. It is not easy to deal with the history of Christianity without knocking against some orthodox or heretical sentiments. However, religious controversy is no part of our scheme, and, as we did with Islam so also here, we shall concern ourselves rather with the positive contributions of the Church as a whole than dabble in doctrinal polemics.

We have already referred to the birth of Christianity and its fortunes under the Roman Empire. From being an obscure and bitterly persecuted Jewish sect, it had come to be a well established, universal, and civilising force in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era. The landmarks in its victorious career were the conversion of Constantine among the Roman Emperors, and Clovis among the barbarian monarchs. Already, in 311 A.D., the Emperor Galerius had issued a decree placing Christianity on a basis of legal equality with the Roman faith, but Constantine's personal conversion gave it a new prestige. In this respect the baptism of the West Frankish king Clovis in 496 rendered a similar service to Christianity in Western Europe. As it had happened with many another prince the conversion of Clovis had been preceded by that of his wife. The pagan husband had pledged to Jesus Christ that he would become a faithful Christian if he was victorious over his enemies; and the Cross had triumphed.

By the code of Theodosius, which was completed in 438, the Christian Church had been specially protected. As a mark of respect for the sacred character of the Christian clergy, they were exempted alike from some irksome public duties and taxes to which all other citizens were liable. They were also allowed to receive bequests, which made the Churches rich, and the Emperors themselves provided magnificent buildings for them. But what gave them pres-

tige as well as power was the privilege of trying their own law cases in their own Church courts. In the field of religion this proved a powerful weapon in the hands of the Church, and later gave rise to many abuses and oppressions. In England, for example, even rogues and charlatans sought the protection of the Church and tried to evade the clutches of the public law, in the days of Henry I and Henry II. On the other hand the Church came to exercise the right of trying and punishing "heretics", which gave rise to the hateful persecutions of the Inquisition. "Whoever separates himself from the Church," St. Cyprian had declared as early as the third century,¹ "is separated from the promises of the Church...He is an alien, he is profane, he is an enemy; he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the Ark of Noah, so also may he escape who shall be outside the bounds of the Church."

St. Paul and St. Peter, "the two most glorious apostles," may be considered the founders of the Catholic Church even as Jesus Christ was the founder of the faith. In the estimation of Lord Birkenhead, "Of all men who may claim to have changed the course of the world's history, St. Paul must surely take the first place. He altered the basic ideas of Western civilization: the whole of our history bears the marks of that busy career of impassioned teaching which the Jewish tent-maker undertook after his conversion to faith in Jesus Christ."² About the importance of St. Peter we have the testimony of Christ Himself: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against

1. He died in 258 A.D.

2. *Turning Points in History*, p. 21.

it. And I will give unto thee Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Peter was the First Pope (Latin, *papa=father*) or Bishop of Rome. Both on this account and because of the prestige that Rome enjoyed throughout Europe as the imperial capital, the See of St. Peter became naturally the Head of the Roman Catholic (Universal) Church. It was for this reason that the Emperor Valentinian III, in 455, officially confirmed the supremacy of the Pope over Christendom. He made the decrees of the Pope binding on all other bishops and required imperial governors to enforce them. When, in 476, Odoacer extinguished the Western Roman Empire, the Pope's prestige was further enhanced. The Church of Rome became the sole bulwark of civilisation against the rising tide of barbarism. 'The Eastern emperor was far away, and his officers, who managed to hold a portion of central Italy around Rome and Ravenna, were glad to accept the aid and counsel of the Pope. In Rome the Pope watched over the elections of the city officials and directed the manner in which the public money should be spent. He had to manage the great tracts of land in different parts of Italy which from time to time had been given to the bishopric of Rome. He negotiated with the Germans and even gave orders to the generals sent against them.'¹

We witnessed in the previous chapter how the Popes had grown powerful enough to crown the Emperors. One of the greatest among them was Gregory VII, the Pope who declared Henry IV excommunicated and deposed. Under his successors the Hohenstaufens were similarly treated.

1. J. H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Indeed with Gregory, as Robinson has put it, we leave behind us the Rome of Cæsar and Trajan and enter upon that of the Popes. In the centuries that followed, the Popes were supreme, though they called themselves merely the servants of the servants of God.

Next to the Popes, who were the head of the official hierarchy of the Catholic Church, there was the unofficial army of monks who greatly influenced the shaping of Christian life in the Middle Ages. On account of their lives being very strictly regulated, they were called the "regulars," and the official clergy were distinguished from them as the "seculars" or persons still connected with the world (*saeculum*). Monasticism was a philosophy which considered the normal life in the world miserable and sinful, and therefore to be redeemed through severe discipline. It was, however, not peculiar to medieval Europe. It corresponds to the Hindu idea of *sannyāsa* and the Buddhist ideal of asceticism which was carried to excess by the Jains in India. It is better, some thought, to undergo voluntarily the maximum of suffering in this world and earn merit in Heaven, rather than sinfully enjoy here and earn the torments of hell later as the wages of sin. Though all may not agree in this, the monasteries, in the Middle Ages, rendered an undoubted service to civilisation. They became the repositories of whatever was worthy of being saved from the wreckage of the past. "It would be difficult," observes Professor Robinson, "to overestimate the influence that the monks and other religious orders exercised for centuries in Europe. The proud annals of the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits contain many a distinguished name. Eminent philosophers, scientists, historians, artists, poets, and statesmen may be found in their ranks. Among those...are 'The Venerable Bede', Boniface, Thomas

Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Fra Angelico, Luther, Erasmus—all these, and many others who have been leaders in various branches of human activity, were, or had been, members of religious orders.”¹ Only a brief account of their way of life may be here given.

Though the movement had begun much earlier, St. Benedict was the first, about 526 A.D., to draw up a regular constitution for his order, which became the model for most others that followed. He had his monastery at Monte Cassino in South Italy :

He founded here his convent and his rule
Of prayer and work, and counted work as prayer ;
The pen became a clarion, and his school
Flamed like beacon in the midnight air.

According to the rules which he framed no one was allowed lightly to take the vows of the Order. One had necessarily to pass through a rigorous *novitiate*. The *abbot* or head of the monastery was to be elected by the *brethren* who were its members. Besides reading and writing—particularly copying old manuscripts—and constant prayers, the monks did all that was necessary for a self-supporting life such as growing their own corn and vegetables, cooking and washing, etc. The three vows which every monk had to take were obedience, poverty, and chastity. But Benedict, like Buddha, recommended moderation in all things. He asked his followers to avoid excessive self-mortification which might destroy their health and come in the way of a truly spiritual life. The importance of the Benedictines may be gauged from the fact that they supplied no less than twenty-four Popes, and forty-six hundred bishops and archbishops. They also produced about six-

1. J. H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

teen thousand writers including among them men of great distinction. In the safe retreats of their monasteries they unostentatiously carried on very useful work but for which many of the most valuable treasures of the ancient world might have been irretrievably lost to us. According to one writer, "the monasteries were the schools, the libraries, the publishing houses, the literary centres, the hospitals, and the workshops of medieval times." They were also the inns and asylums to the weary travellers and the forsaken or care-worn people.

Not the least important work done by the monastic orders was the spreading of the message of Jesus Christ. Gregory the Great had himself been a monk before he became Pope. Then he had been struck by the appearance of a few Angle lads brought to the slave market in Rome. When he became Pope one of the first things he did was to send a mission to England under Augustine, which resulted in the conversion of the English to the Christian faith. Another great example of the missionary work done by the monks is that of St. Boniface, in 718. He was an Englishman and he undertook at great personal risk to convert some of the remotest German tribes. He lived to be the Archbishop of Mainz in 732.

Still another type of monasticism was represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans. The former order was founded by the Italian St. Francis of Assisi, and the latter by the Spanish St. Dominic. The Franciscans laboured to serve 'the poorest, and lowliest, and lost'; while the Dominicans concentrated on fighting heresies. Both produced distinguished scholars like Thomas Aquinas (a Dominican) and Roger Bacon (a Franciscan), and both received official recognition under Innocent III (1198—1216), the Pope who excommunicated and deposed King John of England. The

spirit of the two orders may be represented in terms of the exhortations of their respective founders: "I, little brother Francis," declared the humble saint of Assisi, "desire to follow the life and poverty of Jesus Christ, persevering therein until the end; and I beg you all and exhort you to persevere always in this most holy life of poverty, and take good care never to depart from it upon the advice and teachings of any one whomsoever." The spirited Dominic declared, "I have exhorted you in vain, with gentleness, preaching, praying, and weeping. But according to the proverb of my country, 'where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail.' We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land...and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless." Francis may very well remind us of our gentle Tukārām, and Dominic of the sturdy Dayānand.

Lastly, we must deal here with the Crusades. The gentleness of Jesus and Francis, indeed, could not prevail against the ruthless enemies of the Cross,—the Turks and Saracens. The menace of the militant Crescent demanded the spirit of Charles Martel, Dominic, and Peter the Hermit.

The Holy Places of Christianity, particularly Jerusalem, had long fallen into the hands of the Muslims. The tolerant Arabs had been succeeded by the bigoted Turks, and pious Christian pilgrims could no more find immunity in the East. Jerusalem was occupied by the Seljuk Turks in 1076, and the effect was soon visible in the disgraceful treatment of the Patriarch of the Holy City. He was dragged through the streets by the hair, beaten and imprisoned, and released only on payment of a heavy ransom. Consequently Christian pilgrims flocked back to Europe spreading in every country harrowing tales of their perse-

cution and misery. Peter the Hermit was the most celebrated among them. In the glowing words of Gibbon, "He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; the Hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and to arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and the pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren and rescue their Saviour." The Eastward flow of arms that this fervent appeal released from all parts of Europe is known as the Crusades. They continued with varying fortunes until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The history of these Crusades, though interesting in itself as a tale of adventures, must be summarily told here. They started in 1095 with the meeting of the great Council of Clermont under Pope Urban II. "It is the will of God" echoed through the frenzied crowds as they were harangued in the open air, as no building could contain them. The First Crusade was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen. Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless were among its leaders. A motley crowd of armed peasants formed the bulk of the "army of God" that relied more on the medieval belief in miracles than in their own power to win. Nevertheless, the miracle, though qualified, did happen, of capturing and losing Antioch on the way and finally reaching Jerusalem. This was due more to the weakness of the enemy than the strength of the Crusaders. Yet, hardly a tenth of the 30,000 that had set out had the satisfaction of walking through the streets of the Holy City (1099). The captured territories were formed into the king-

dom of Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon as its king. This king died in 1101 and the kingdom relapsed into feudal anarchy. The Holy Places had to be consequently defended by bodies of volunteers such as the Orders of the Templars, the Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights.

The Second Crusade was provoked by the massacre of 30,000 Christians at Edessa by the Turks in 1147. It was led by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France, and yet it ended in a fiasco. Jerusalem was again captured by the brilliant Saladin in 1187. This called forth "the most famous of the long series of Crusades," for it was led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarosa, Philip II of France, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England. Frederick was drowned, Philip and Richard quarrelled on the road to Palestine, and only the last remained till the final stage. Though minor conquests, like the taking of Cyprus and Acre, were effected, even Cœur-de-Lion fell far short of the cultured and brilliant Saladin in leadership.

The Fourth Crusade started in response to the appeal of Pope Innocent II (1202-4). Instead of directly concentrating on their main objective the misguided Crusaders attacked Christian places like Zara and Constantinople on their way. For the time being the so-called Latin Empire was established in the East. But Constantinople was again captured by the Greeks with the assistance of the Genoese, about sixty years later. They held it till 1453.

The remaining Crusades were even more inglorious than those we have already described. The most memorable among them was the Children's Crusade (1212). The failure of many a Crusade was attributed to the sinfulness of the Crusaders. So it was believed that an army of innocents would be certainly invincible: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength." No less

than 20,000 children were mobilised for this infantile movement. But most of them partook of the mercy of God long before they could reach the Holy Land. Others were kidnapped and sold into slavery by unscrupulous Genoese and Venetian merchants. The remaining were sent back to their homes under safe custody by the Pope Innocent III who took pity on them.

The clash of the Cross and the Crescent had been attended with great carnage on both sides. When Jerusalem was first captured by the Crusaders it lasted for a full week, and according to a French eye-witness, "under the portico of the mosque the blood was knee deep and reached the horses' bridles." Yet the direct results of two centuries of constant fighting were not, perhaps, worth more than a single campaign. The importance of the Crusades is, however, to be seen in their indirect but lasting effects. In the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "The Crusades were the military and religious aspect of a general urge towards the East on the part of the reviving energies of Europe. The prize that Europe brought back from the Crusades was not the permanent liberation of the Holy Sepulchre or the potential unity of Christendom, of which the story of the Crusades was one long negation. She brought back instead the finer arts and crafts, luxury, science, and intellectual curiosity—everything that Peter the Hermit would most have despised."

The exact extent of the influence of the contact with the East brought about by the Crusades will ever remain a subject of controversy among scholars. In the following passage the maximum claim is sought to be summarised :—

'In the religious sphere they diminished the prestige of the Papacy, irretrievably affected monasticism, and encouraged the growth of heresy. In the social and economic sphere they led

to a greater equality of classes, the growth of a free peasantry and of guilds of artisans, and the development of trade and industry. In the field of politics they were followed by the rise of the system of Estates, by a growing centralization of government, and by the appearance of written law and a regular judicial administration. In the great world of culture, philosophy developed its greatest thinkers after the Crusades and the connexion with the Arabs which they brought: even mysticism assumed a scientific character: the study of the ancient languages grew in extent and fertility: historiography and geography acquired a new vigour: a vernacular poetry arose: Gothic architecture succeeded: a Romanesque, and a finer taste appeared in sculpture and painting.¹

1. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 51.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

MEDIEVAL LIFE IN EUROPE

To-day the historian is interested in the social life of the past and not only in the wars and intrigues of princes. —EILEEN POWER

In the two preceding chapters we saw how Europe—particularly Western Europe—was struggling to evolve order out of the chaos brought about by the fall of the Roman Empire. The catastrophe was the outcome of the internal weaknesses and the external attacks of the barbarians. Then an attempt was made to restore the Roman order by the secular agency of the Frankish Charlemagne and the German Otto and his successors who built up the Holy Roman Empire, and the spiritual agency of the Pope. While the success of the former was only temporary and local, the influence of the latter proved more lasting as well as widespread. The struggle for supremacy that ensued between the Empire and the Papacy only served to establish the prestige of the Church in a world left still anarchical by the failure of political authority.

The outstanding features of this period of transition from the ancient to the modern world are summed up in the word "Feudalism." There is greater agreement regarding its characteristic features than its chronological limits. But roughly we might consider the millennium from the fifth century A.D. to the fifteenth century A.D. as comprising the Middle Ages, of which the earlier half consti-

tuted the Dark Age of barbarian invasions and the later half that of medieval feudalism and chivalry. Having described the former already in an earlier chapter, here we must concentrate upon the latter. We may note that feudalism was strongest during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe ; then new forces and tendencies began to manifest themselves. These culminated in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century which ushered in the modern times.

Feudalism was a very complex organisation of society based upon the holding of land-tenures with specified obligations of service. In the words of Bishop Stubbs, "It may be described as a complete organisation of society through the medium of land tenure, in which, from the king down to the lowest land-owner, all are bound together by obligation of service and defence : the lord to protect his vassal, the vassal to do service to his lord ; the defence and service being based on and regulated by the nature and extent of the land held by the one of the other. In those states which have reached the territorial stage of development, the rights of defence and service are supplemented by the right of jurisdiction. The lord judges as well as defends his vassal ; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord. In states in which feudal government has reached its utmost growth, the political, financial, judicial, every branch of public administration is regulated by the same conditions. The central authority is a mere shadow of a name."

When the strong arm of the central authority had been palsied by the barbarian invasions at first, and then by the Normans and Danes in the North, the Slavs and Hungarians in the East, and the Saracens and Moors in the South, the spiritual influence of the Church alone was not sufficient to hold Euro-

pean society together. For the protection of life and property as well as the undisturbed conduct of normal social activity it was necessary to improvise a new system. This was secured by the distribution and localisation of all the functions of government, which also necessitated a like distribution of authority. However, it is necessary to point out that this reorganisation of society was spontaneous and natural, and not the result of deliberate planning by any great statesman. It was derived partly from Roman and partly from Teutonic sources.

In the provinces of the Roman Empire agriculture was carried on for centuries by free tenants known as the *coloni*. But during the period of confusion these *coloni* tended to depend more and more upon some strong local landowner, and virtually sold their independence in return for security. Likewise, the Teutonic custom of *Commending* oneself to a mighty chief, served to bring about a social system of dependence and protection. The anarchy during the ninth and tenth centuries was so great that no price was considered too big to pay for security. Indeed, even in insular Britain, the daily prayer happened to be—"from the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

Land, which was the source of all wealth and power in those days, came to be divided and distributed for protection as well as cultivation. In theory it was owned by one supreme overlord, the king; in practice it was divided and subdivided and held by a gradation of landlords and tenants. The terms on which the estates or *fiefs* granted by the lord to the tenant or by the tenant to the sub-tenants (*vassals*), were of service, both military and civil. The *vassal* was to fight for his *lord* in times of war, and to cultivate the land for him in times of peace. The latter included not merely working on one's own farm, but also

compulsory service in the master's *demesne* and other obligations such as *aids*, *relief*, etc. The contributions that the *vassal* was called upon to make towards the expenses of the marriage of the lord's daughter, or the accession to *knighthood* of the lord's son, constituted the "aids"; the fee that was to be paid by a tenant's heir for succession to the *fief* comprised the "relief." Besides these the vassal's holding was liable to *escheat* on failure of heirs or *forfeiture* for disloyal conduct. If the lord was taken captive in war by an enemy his vassals were to pay *ransom* for his release. When so required the tenants with their *retainers* were to render military service being fully equipped at their own cost. In short, the tenant was to be his landlord's *man*: he was to live, work, and die for his master in return for such justice, protection, and privileges as the times and the tenure guaranteed to him.

In the absence of any effective central government, justice was administered by the feudal (from *feud*=*fief*) lord in his manorial court. The *manor* was his estate. On it stood his great castle or fortified residence. The surrounding lands were held by his tenants or subtenants. The former held from him directly; the latter through their intermediate superiors. Below all were the *serfs* and slaves who, indeed, formed the major portion of the population. The serfs were superior to the slaves, and were attached to the soil. They could not be killed or alienated with impunity. Lands were given to them for cultivation on very exacting terms. They could not forsake their farms and run away; but if they did and were not discovered for a year and a day they were free. They were to work on their master's farm for three days in the week throughout the year, except during Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Each serf was to give to his lord, in one typical case, 'one bushel of wheat, eighteen

sheaves of oats, three hens, one cock yearly, and five eggs at Easter.' Conditions varied, for better or for worse, in different places, but serfdom survived in Western Europe until the French Revolution (1789) and further east until more recent times.

In those rough times there was no sovereign law that was universally recognised, except the *canon* law of the Church. In secular matters custom and tradition ruled. Ordeal and battle decided disputes which could not be otherwise settled. The accused person had very often to prove his innocence by tests of fire or water. In the last resort the disputants would be allowed to fight each other according to rules and justice was declared to be on the side of the victor; for it was considered to be the judgment of God.

Knight-errantry was a typical institution of the Middle Ages. It was governed by the highly developed code of chivalry. The free landlords took to it as the most honourable profession. The Crusades afforded a very congenial atmosphere for its development and refinement. Where no other just cause was to be found the knights fought each other for sheer entertainment. Individual jousts and group tournaments were very common in medieval times. They were the survivals of the Greek games and the Roman circuses. But unlike the brutal gladiators the knights mostly combated each other with blunt weapons when it was not a real fight. The barbarians were used to fighting on foot. But the contacts of the Saracens had established the superiority of the horse. The knight was a mounted warrior armed *cap-a-pie*. The term "chivalry" is itself derived from the French word for horse. A vivid portrayal of this medieval atmosphere is to be found in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

The feudal system, though it was the natural outcome of the circumstances obtaining in the Middle Ages and rendered

good service then, was not without its defects. Private warfare was one of its most outstanding evils. This acted as the enemy of all established order. "The man's man was not the lord's man" was the principle which obtained in the continent of Europe. Hence, however powerful a lord might consider himself in theory, he could not in practice depend upon the co-ordinated loyalties of all who shared his lands. Very often the vassals proved stronger than their masters, and well integrated national kingdoms could not arise under such circumstances. To this England was the earliest exception. On account of her geographical isolation she could develop well along her own lines. The Normans under William the Conqueror, profiting by continental experience, tried to counteract the feudal anarchical tendencies by insisting upon all classes of vassals that they could swear allegiance to their immediate superiors only "saving the faith that I owe to our lord the King." Yet the centrifugal forces continued to assert themselves, though with diminishing effect, until the establishment of the strong Tudor monarchy in the fifteenth century. On the continent feudalism was liquefied only gradually. It vanished, however, in the wake of the invention of gun-powder, the growth of commercial towns, and above all of the Renaissance. But it is not to be forgotten that in its own time it had functioned well "as a military measure to organise local defence ; economically, to safeguard cultivation of the soil ; and politically, to provide machinery for local administration of justice."¹ Its moral and cultural influences were also considerable. It gave courage to the barons in 1215 to extort the *Magna Carta* from King John of England, and its traditions of gallantry and romance

1. A. F. Hattersley, *A Short History of Western Civilization*, p. 62.

inspired many a writer and poet to produce gems of romantic literature. It was the age of wandering minstrels and troubadours.

The growth of towns which gave a deathblow to feudalism was the dominating characteristic of the later Middle Ages. While feudalism thrived in the rural parts urban centres developed a different kind of life. Here commerce and industry rather than agriculture were the decisive factors. Guilds and corporations of merchants, and manufacturers not only brought prosperity to the towns, but also imparted to them a spirit of independence. Under their ægis too, as under the fostering industry of the monasteries, culture was preserved and developed.

Up to the eleventh century the population of Europe, like that of India today, was essentially a rural population. But once the barbarians who upset the old order and prosperity settled down and became civilised, towns began to revive. They were a replica of the old Roman towns which had been centres of great activity. In medieval Europe there were three institutions of such civilising importance : they were the monasteries, the feudal manors, and the organised towns. We have said something already about the first two. The last alone will engage our attention here. The monasteries planted often in out-of-the-way places and far off wildernesses acted as farflung outposts of civilisation. The fortified castles and their surrounding self-contained manors served to preserve society from the disrupting forces of anarchy. The towns, which too were fortified in the Middle Ages, were so many islands of peaceful industry in a sea of constant warfare. They were also the arteries through which flowed the commerce of the times. Though they were units linked up as fiefs in the feudal system, they were too powerful to be swallowed up by the encircling forces. They either bought

out or valiantly fought for their liberties and thereby earned an important place among the "estates" of the realm. Their citizens, the burghers or burgesses, were the creators of the commons of modern democracies.

Internally, the towns organised professional guilds, and externally, they formed leagues with other cities for purposes of commerce as well as defence. The craft-guilds were unions of workers which secured monopolies for their special industries, afforded training for their apprentices, laid down conditions for efficiency, and protected their members much as trade-unions do today. There were unions of shoemakers, bakers, weavers, dyers, etc. The most famous of the leagues of commercial towns was the Hanseatic League of North Germany. *Hansa* in old German meant a confederation or union. The Hanseatic League included about eighty of the principal cities of Northern Europe. It established trading colonies of its members in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod. It lost its importance only with the new geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century and the consequent shifting of the highways of world commerce.

The greatest of the cities of Southern Europe were concentrated in Italy. They were Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Venice had her beginning in the fifth century when the refugees from the attacks of Attila the Hun sought shelter among her marshes. In course of time, owing to the natural advantages of her position at the head of the Adriatic, as well as the enterprise of her daring citizens, she became the mistress of the Mediterranean as once Athens, Carthage, and Rome had been. In the immortal words of Byron—

A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
Around me, and a dying Glory smiles
O'er the far times, when many a subject land

Look'd to the winged Lion's marble piles,
Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles !
She looks a sea cybele, fresh from ocean,
Rising with her tiara of proud towers
At airy distance, with majestic motion,
A ruler of the waters and their powers :
And such she was ;—her daughters had their dowers
From spoils of nations, and the exhaustless East
Pour'd in her lap all gems in sparkling showers.
In purple was she robed, and of her feast
Monarchs partook, and deem'd their dignity increased.

In 1177, in recognition of her importance as well as services rendered to the Church, Pope Alexander III bestowed on her Doge a ring and said : " Take this as a token of dominion over the sea, and wed her every year, you and your successors forever, in order that all may know that the sea belongs to Venice and is subject to her as a bride is subject to her husband." This annual " wedding of the Adriatic " continued to be one of the most gorgeous ceremonies of the Middle Ages. Genoa became a rival, particularly after 1261, when she demonstrated her power by assisting the Greeks in the overthrow of the Latins at Constantinople. For a long time their reckless rivalries eclipsed the ascendancy of the two Italian cities, until both were overwhelmed by the triumphs of the Crescent in the East.

Florence, the city of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Michael Angelo, Lenardo da Vinci, Galileo, Amerigo Vespucci, and the Medici, was " the most illustrious and fortunate of Italian republics." Despite the handicaps of her inland situation, Florence still became, " through the skill, industry, enterprise, and genius of her citizens, the great manufacturing, financial, literary, and art centre of the later medieval centuries...indeed, as respects the number of her

great men, Florence is perhaps unrivalled by any city of the ancient or modern world save Athens.”¹

Incomplete as this survey of medieval life in Europe must remain (for obvious limitations of space) we cannot conclude the chapter without a few lines on the education and literature of the Middle Ages.² We have already observed how the monasteries kept the torch of learning bright through the Dark Ages, by preserving such of the ancient knowledge as was accessible to them. Much of the Greek wisdom, except that of Aristotle, had been temporarily lost to Western Europe. Even the writings of Aristotle were familiarised through Arabic translations rendered into Latin in the Spanish universities. Thanks to the teachings of Muhammad, the early Muslims had cultivated learning with the same zeal as they felt for their religion. The Prophet had declared, “Acquire knowledge, it will enable you to distinguish right and wrong, it will light the way to heaven, it will be your friend in the desert, your society in solitude, your companion in loneliness, your guide to happiness, the sustainer of your misery, the ornament among your friends, and the armour against your enemies.” Arab scholarship in the universities of Cordoba and Toledo in Spain demonstrated that the Moors had fully imbibed the spirit of this exhortation.

Among the Christian princes we have noted too the services rendered to education by Charlemagne. One writer has justly observed, “Herein he (Charles the Great) takes

1. Myers, *General History*, p. 436.

2. For a fuller treatment of various aspects of medieval life read *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford U. Press), *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilisation* (Harraps), and *Medieval People* by Eileen Power (Pelican Books).

a foremost place among the benefactors of humanity, as a man who, himself imperfectly educated, knew how to value education in others ; as one who, amid the manifold harassing cares of government and of war, could find leisure for that friendly intercourse with learned men which far more than his generous material gifts cheered them on in their arduous and difficult work ; and as the ruler to whom perhaps more than to any other single individual we owe the fact that the precious literary inheritance of Greece and Rome has not been altogether lost to the human race. Every student of the history of the texts of the classical authors knows how many of our best manuscripts date from the ninth century, the result unquestionably of the impulse given by Charles and his learned courtiers to classical studies." The degree of personal attention bestowed upon the education of the young, by Charlemagne, is illustrated by the rebuke he administered to the easy-going lads of a school started under his own patronage : "You young nobles", he said, "you dainty and beautiful youths, who have presumed upon your birth and your possessions to despise mine orders, and have taken no care for my renown ; you have neglected the study of literature, while you have given yourselves over to luxury and idleness, or to games and foolish athletics. By the King of Heaven, I care nothing for your noble birth and your handsome faces, let others prize them as they may. Know this for certain, that unless ye give earnest heed to your studies, and recover the ground lost by your negligence, ye shall never receive any favour at the hand of King Charles."

As the demand for instruction increased with the growth of peace and prosperity the cathedral and monastic schools were found insufficient. Particularly, the merchant and other professional classes were in need of secular education

which the Church schools could not be expected to impart. These needs were met by institutions that soon developed into the famous universities of medieval Europe. The most ancient of these were the University of Salerno, noted for its teachers in medicine; the University of Bologna, distinguished for its instruction in law; and the University of Paris, revered for its doctors in theology. The last supplied the model of constitutions and was hence known in the Middle Ages as "the Mother of Universities." Oxford and Cambridge were also founded in these early times. The principal faculties that were cultivated were the faculty of Theology, the faculty of Medicine, the faculty of Law, and the faculty of Arts (or Philosophy). Grammar, rhetoric, and logic were specially emphasised for their value in scholastic disputations. Besides the Church and the ordinary lay schools, there were also 'Chivalric schools' where sons of noblemen especially were trained in the exercises and code of medieval chivalry.

Peter Abelard (1079—1142), Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), and Roger Bacon (d. 1294), were among the outstanding figures of this age. The first was so popular that he attracted over 5000 pupils to his lecture rooms, but possessed a notorious moral character. The second was so admired for his versatile genius that he was called "Albert the Great" and "the Second Aristotle." The third was known as "the Angelic Doctor", and his great work the *Summa Theologia* or "Sum of Theology" to this day provides the foundation for the orthodox Church. The last, called "the Wonderful Doctor", though persecuted for being in league with the devil, was wonderfully ahead of his times in scientific knowledge. He seemed to possess marvellous understanding of mechanics, optics, and chemistry. He knew the composition of gunpowder or some such ex-

plosive, and believed in the possibility of mechanically propelled vehicles, as the following remarkable passage from his writings reveals :—

‘Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man, may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise, cars may be made so that without a draught animal they may be moved...as we deem the scythed chariots to have been from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird.’

Among the writers of the age we have space only for a few observations on the greatest. The most famous among the earliest was St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. His *The City of God* which was written when Rome fell before Alaric the Goth in 410, served as a beacon in the encircling gloom of the Dark Age. “The greatest city of the world has fallen in ruin,” he wrote, “but the city of God abideth for ever.” His more popular work is his *Confessions* “which have a human interest equal to that of the self-revelations of Bunyan and Rousseau,”—and we may add, of Tolstoy and Gandhi also.

Of unknown authorship, but of great medieval interest, is the German epic entitled the *Niblungen Lied* which has been popularised by the music-dramas of Wagner. It is the story of the romantic adventures of its hero Siegfried, son of Siegmund, king of the Netherland. Its stage is the city of Worms which, says Carlyle, “had we a right imagination, ought to be as venerable to us moderns as any Thebes or Troy was to the ancients.”

By far the greatest genius of the age, however, was Dante who was born in Florence in 1265. His love for Beatrice which inspired his *Divine Comedy* is

an epic theme. Dante suffered much owing to his participation in the factions of his city—the *Guelphs* and the *Ghibellines*. The former stood for the Pope and the latter for the Emperor. We have already described the nature of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The Guelphs having triumphed, Dante was banished from Florence in 1302, and he remained in exile until his death in 1321. This called forth from Michael Angelo, another great Florentine of versatile genius, the following sonnet :—

From heaven his spirit came, and, robed in clay,
The realms of justice and of mercy trod,
Then rose a living man to gaze on God,
That he might make the truth as clear as day.
For that pure star, that brightened with his ray
The undeserving nest where I was born,
The whole wide world would be a prize to scorn ;
None but his Maker can due guerdon pay.
I speak of Dante, whose high work remains
Unknown, unhonoured, by that thankless brood
Who only to just men deny their wage.
Were I but he ! Born for like lingering pains,
Against his exile coupled with his good
I'd gladly change the world's best heritage.

But the world has accorded to Dante the justice that Florence denied him : he is one of its greatest immortals. The noble epic comprising three parts—*Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*—is incapable alike of paraphrase and epitome. The poet passing through hell and purgatory into paradise meets with immortals of the classical world, but the crowning glory of reaching Beatrice is his alone. “ Guided by Beatrice the poet passes through nine Heavens, which are moving spheres revolving round our globe, till he reaches the final motionless and fixed Heaven in the Empyrean. The seven lowest of the Heavens are named after the moon,

the sun, and the planets, and the eighth after the fixed stars. All these are visible from earth. Above them is the ninth or crystalline Heaven, which directs by its movements the daily revolution of all the others. In it nature starts ; from it proceed time and motion, together with all celestial influences for the government of the world. It is :

The robe that with its regal folds enwraps
The world and with the nearer breath of God
Doth burn and quiver.

" Above it, climax of the vision, is the infinite and motionless sea of divine love where God makes blessed the saints and angels in the vision of His Essence."¹

Though Dante's imagery and expression are medieval, he belongs to all time. Next to him stands the galaxy of writers like Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Malory. They have all left us familiar pictures of medieval life. We might close this chapter with the portrayal of an ideal knight who was indeed the ideal man of the Middle Ages.

" Ah, Lancelot," says Sir Ector in Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, " thou wert head of all Christian knights, and now I dare say, thou Sir Lancelot, there thou liest, that thou wert never matched of earthly knight's hand. And thou wert the courteoust knight that ever bare shield. And thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrad horse. And thou wert the truest lover of a sinful man that ever loved woman. And thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword. And thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights. And thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall among ladies. And thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."

1. John Drinkwater, *The Outline of Literature*, p. 239.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE EAST IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

Everything points to the conclusion that those centuries which were centuries of disaster and retrogression in Europe, were comparatively an age of progress in Middle Asia eastward into China.

—H. G. WELLS

No period in Eastern history has been, perhaps, treated with greater indifference than that of Asia during the Middle Ages. The corresponding age in Europe has been comparatively well studied by scholars. But even in such a brief survey as ours we should not overlook the medieval period as a whole in our continent. Vast as the field may be, we shall find before we close this chapter that our exploration has not been futile. On the contrary we shall have added to our knowledge of human history some connected information about an important, though obscure, period. Chronologically, we shall roughly cover in this chapter the same millennium (500-1500) as we did in the last chapter. Politically, this will include an account of the T'ang (618-907), Sung (960-1280), and Yuan (1280-1368) dynasties (to mention only the most important) in China, the pre-Mughal Muslim and Hindu dynasties of India, and the momentous movements of peoples like the Mongols and Turks.

We have earlier indicated the nature of Han and T'ang rule in the great age of Buddhism in Asia. Though China

made large and valuable contributions to civilisation, her political history, as ever, was very much disturbed. Progress in that vast country has been so often interrupted by war and barbarism that one really wonders how the Chinese could at all produce their rich culture. Under the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 221 A.D.), in addition to China proper, Tong-king and Annam had been reduced to being tributary states. Besides developing excellent pottery, jade, bronze and iron-work, silk brocades and embroideries, etc., the Han emperors had encouraged literature and secured its preservation by getting Confucian classics engraved on stone. The invention of paper in 105 A.D. and the modification of the ancient Chinese characters had made writing an easier art. The invention of the hair-pencil under the Ch'in had also facilitated the practice of that art on silk. Soothill describes this as 'the period of the first great collators, commentators, and historians, and of the fathers of the form of much subsequent poetry.' He also writes; "Whatever may be said of the government, the world-enriching discovery of paper would alone entitle the Han period to be styled glorious."

After this China was partitioned between the three kingdoms of *Wei*, *Wu*, and *Shu*. These kingdoms fought among themselves (221—589) and paved the way for the Tartar invasions. It was the age, as in Europe, of chaos and chivalry. But out of this darkness one figure arises. It is that of a Tartar who, in 397, founded the House of Toba. He organised the civil administration and, by his encouragement of learning, civilised his barbarous people. Though the Tobas at first persecuted the Buddhists, they became its great supporters later, and through them the religion was finally established in China. Its influence may be illustrated by the attitude of the founder of a succeeding dynasty, viz., the Liang dynasty (502—

557). He became a devout Buddhist and is reputed to have built 13,000 temples. He sent for monks from India, and was so strict in following the doctrine of *Ahimsa* that he forbade even the cutting of figures of animals embroidered on cloth. 'He is described as a man of distinguished character and noble presence, a scholar, soldier, statesman, and monk.' Other examples of Buddhist influence have already been cited. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, like Fa Hian and Huen Tsang, came to India, and Indian Buddhist monks, like Bodhidharma and Kumāravijaya, travelled to China. It is reckoned that at the close of this period the Buddhist library in China exceeded that of the Confucian.

The country was reunited into a single empire by the Duke of Sui, the founder of the *Sui* dynasty (589—618). The last ruler of this family was a rather remarkable figure. He was *Yang Ti* (605—17).

"Studious, clever, luxurious, he squandered treasure and life without stint. Immense palaces, huge parks, lakes and islands, trees that must always bloom, naturally or with silken flowers and leaves, thousands of court ladies and their attendants, every conceivable gratification were his delight. He linked his capital with the Yangtze by joining various rivers into a great canal, lining it with stone embankments, and, 30,000 'dragon boats' carried him and his entourage on royal visitations. Whole districts were denuded of birds to supply his followers with gay feathers. He led an army of 305,000 against Korea, of whom only 2,7000 returned."¹

Such a prince was not calculated to keep either his dignity or power for long. His general *Li Yuan* revolted and established a new dynasty. This was the famous T'ang dynasty about which we have already said something in an earlier chapter. T'ai Tsung (627—650) was its greatest

1. Soothill, *A History of China*, p. 27.

ruler. During his time both Christianity and Islam first entered China, the former in 635 and the latter in 628. Unlike European monarchs, T'ai Tsung welcomed both and allowed the new religions to be freely propagated in his dominions. The mosque at Canton, erected by these early visitors to the Far East, is one of the oldest surviving mosques built during the lifetime of the Prophet. The Christians were Nestorians from Syria and Persia. Though the dynasty of T'ai Tsung continued till 907, his successors were decadent rulers. The Turcomans wearing black garments (hence nicknamed "the Crows") were called in to defend them, but turned out to be their enemies. However, the glory of T'ai Tsung's days was never forgotten. The southerners to this day proudly call themselves "Men of T'ang."

There were five shortlived dynasties (mostly Turcoman) ruling from 907 to 960. The *Sung* dynasty arose out of their ashes and revived the glory of Han and T'ang (960--1280). The most notable figure of this period was *Wang An-shih* the "communist minister of *Shên T'sung* (1068--1086). He is described as a very clever man who "wore dirty clothes and did not even wash his face." But as a reformer far in advance of his times he distinguished himself even like Wang Mang before him. He created a Board of Statistics, attempted nationalisation of commerce, issued loans to needy farmers, introduced conscription, and levied an income-tax. When famine was declared to be the indication of the wrath of God, Wang said, "Not at all; natural phenomena are the result of natural laws and have no relation to moral action." The collapse of the Sung dynasty, like that of many of its predecessors, was brought about partly by inner decadence, and outer attacks by the barbarian Mongols. Though it endured for a long time it was renowned less for its emperors than for its statesmen

and soldiers, less for its successes against external foes (the Tartars) than for its scholars. Yet the legacy of culture that they left served to enhance the value of China's permanent contributions to civilisation. Summing up the Sung services to culture Soothill has observed :

“ These have left behind a legacy of literature that will be treasured for all time. The names of historians, philosophers, commentators, essayists, poets are writ high on the scroll of their country. Though books were first printed immediately before the foundation of this dynasty, it was during its existence, and notably south of the Yangtze, that the great writers existed and their books were published. Education was fostered and academies for students encouraged. The growing artistic taste still further stimulated the skill of workers in gold, silver, and the metals, in wood, textiles, and other materials. The manufacture of porcelain underwent a notable development. Pictorial art reached its zenith as also did the art of writing, engraving, and printing Chinese characters. The constant demands of war produced improved weapons and armour ; the *ballista* for throwing stones was introduced, and fire-arms and cannons came into use in the twelfth century ; ship-building for river and seafaring purposes also received an impetus, consequent chiefly on the requirements of naval warfare and transport.”

It was Marco Polo, a thirteenth century Venetian traveller (1260—95), who first roused European interest in China and the East generally. He travelled in China, stayed at the court of Kublai Khan, visited Sumatra, South India, and several other countries besides. Though he circulated some fantastic stories about the Orient, particularly the countries he had not personally seen, he also conveyed much useful information to the Europeans, which had far-

reaching effects. With him may be said to begin the impulse which culminated in the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

China was ruled by the famous Kublai Khan, a descendant of the still more famous Chengiz Khan, when Marco Polo visited. The former who founded the Yuan dynasty in China reigned over only a portion of the vast empire created by the latter. Chengiz Khan, the leader of the Mongol hordes, was the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen. His dominions extended from the Western shores of the Pacific Ocean to Eastern Europe, and included China, Mongolia, Turkestan, Persia, Afghanistan, North-West India, Asia-Minor, and Eastern Europe. His army, in spite of its great size, was well organised and was provided with fire-arms which were first invented in China. Chengiz was born in the steppes of Mongolia in 1155. He was a Mongol *Bagatur* (Bahadur) or nobleman (literally, 'hero') and was elected leader of all the tribes only when he was fifty-one years of age.

'And so, when all the generations living in felt tents became united under a single authority, in the year of the Leopard, they assembled near the sources of the Onon, and raising the White Banner on Nine Legs, they conferred on Chengiz the title of Kagan.'

He commenced his great march in 1219 and died in 1227 at the age of seventy-two. But these nine years were not only the most momentous in his own career, but also some of the most memorable in the history of the world. Though, like Attila, he is regarded as a 'Scourge of God'—for he moved like a tempest and demolished kingdoms and empires, massacring millions and piling up mountains of skulls—he yet rendered a valuable service to civilisation: The Mongols poured fresh and vigorous blood into the de-

cadent limbs of humanity, and what is more they opened up Asia as well as Europe for mutual intercourse. They not only moved armies from Asia to Europe, but also established lines of civil contacts between the two continents. The travels of Marco Polo were only one indication of this.

Chengiz Khan was succeeded by his son, Oghotai, who was more humane than his father. "Our Kagan Chengiz", he declared, "built up our imperial house with great labour; now it is time to give the peoples peace and prosperity, and to alleviate their burdens." Yet under him the Mongol conquests in Europe were further extended. His general Sabutai subdued Russia, Poland, and Hungary. But after the death of Oghotai disruption commenced. Mangu became the Great Khan in 1252. He appointed Kublai Khan to the government of China. Mangu had his capital at Karakorum and Kublai built for himself a new one at Peking. The Western Mongols became Muslims and the Eastern Buddhists; those in Russia, Poland, and Hungary obviously adopted Christianity as their religion. Mangu's successor, Hulagu, destroyed Bagdad and ended the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. This may be considered as also the end of the Arab civilisation and the beginning of the more destructive era of the Turks who were indistinguishable from the Mongols.

Meanwhile in China Kublai Khan, as previously stated, founded the Yuan dynasty. He also added Tongking, Annam, and even part of Burma to his dominions. His attempt to conquer Japan and Malaysia, however, proved futile as the Mongols had no navy equal to the task. After Kublai's death, in 1292 the Empire of the Mongols split up into independent kingdoms like (1) the Yuan dominions of China, (2) the Golden Horde of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, (3) the Ilkhan territory of Hulagu, including

Turkestan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and (4) the Mongolian empire of Siberia. The Turkish empire of Timur or Tamerlane (1369—1405) was built out of these elements.

Timur brought half of Asia under his sway. He conquered all lands from the Great Wall of China to Moscow, and, as we know, overrun the Punjab as well. By this time the Turks and Mongols of the North-West had not only turned Muslims, but become its fanatical protagonists. "My object in the invasion of Hindustan," Timur declared, "is to lead a campaign against the infidels, to convert them to the True Faith according to the command of the Prophet (on whom be the blessing of God!), to purify the land from the defilement of misbelief and polytheism, and overthrow the temples and idols, whereby we shall be *Ghāzis* and *Mujahids*, champions and soldiers of the Faith before God." But this was merely a pretext, because Timur fought and overthrew Muslims as well. He invaded India in 1398, defeated the Sultan of Turkey in a terrible engagement at Angora in 1402, received the submission of the Sultan of Egypt, and suddenly died in 1405.

The Ottoman or Osmanli Turks had established themselves in Asia-Minor about 1300. Under Bajazet they had advanced into South-Eastern Europe and overthrown the Christian armies at Nicopolis on the Danube in 1396. The advent of Timur had temporarily checked this Turkish advance into Europe. But under Muhammad II (the Great) the Turkish conquests were renewed with vigour. Constantinople fell before his irresistible attacks, in 1453, and the Muslims established themselves in the Balkan peninsula with momentous results in European history. Under Suleiman the Great (called by Turkish historians the 'Lord of his Age') the Ottoman power was raised to its zenith (1520—1566). He advanced into Central Europe and in-

vested Vienna, the capital of Austria. Though he did not succeed in capturing it, he conquered Hungary and the island of Cyprus from the Christians. Suleiman's empire extended from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean along North Africa. It included Asia-Minor, Egypt, the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Balkan peninsula, and Hungary. The decline followed only after the death of Suleiman the Great. "Compared with other European states of that time, the Ottoman empire was well governed and prosperous ; trade, learning, and literature flourished ; historical writing attained high excellence."¹

In India the period of history traced above covers the centuries from the death of Harsha (647) to the establishment of the Mughal Empire by Babur (1526). They were centuries of neither less interest nor of less consequence to World History. We must therefore make here at least a brief survey of happenings in India.

Muhammad the Prophet of Islam was a contemporary of Śri Harsha of Kanouj. We have witnessed in the earlier chapters the remarkable rapidity with which Islam spread over the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The Arabs were no strangers to India, and after their conversion to Islam they conquered Sind at the same time (712) as they conquered Spain. The circumstances under which this happened are familiar to readers of Indian history. India was not politically united ; even socially she needed rejuvenation. Hence, in the words of E. B. Havell, it appeared as if "the sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches and cut back the unfruitful growth of the Tree of

1. Renouf, *Outlines of General History*, p. 234.

Knowledge He had planted in Āryāvarta." Obviously, it was the period of Hindu decadence, and new vitality was imparted by the violent impact of a new civilisation; for Islam was nothing less than that.

'India up to that date, or to about the close of that century, was characteristically and exclusively *Hindu*, using this term in its most comprehensive sense. Whatever changes took place up to that age were changes in *Hindu* India, which remained *Hindu*, enfolding in its broad bosom such divergent racial elements as Aryan and Dravidian, Scythian and Mongolian, and religious differentiations such as Brahmanism, Animism, Jainism, and Buddhism.' But 'Hinduism found in Islam a strange bed-fellow, with a character almost sturdier than its own. The capacity of Hindu society for assimilation of peoples and cultures unlike its own, before the advent of the Muhammadans, seemed to be infinite. But the Crescent for the first time revealed its limitations. Indeed, for well nigh a millennium, Hindu society threatened to go under. Islam was in the ascendant from the advent of the Arabs in Sind (712 A.D.) to the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire at the death of Aurangazeb (1707 A.D.). Until after the final discomfiture of Alamgīr it was not certain that India was not to be *Dar-ul-Islam*. But the Medieval Age in India closed with the certainty that this ancient land was to belong equally to both peoples and faiths, Muslim no less than Hindu. On what terms has not been settled yet.

'The impact of these two cultures has created Modern India and its problems. The aggressive European never fully triumphed over purely Islamic countries. No one entirely succeeded in submerging India so long as she remained exclusively Hindu. It will not be unwarrantable, therefore, to attribute the subjection of India to her loss of

homogeneity. The prime factor in our altered national composition has been the almost unassimilable racial and religious element introduced by Islam. The history of this impact is to us, therefore, of more than mere scholastic interest....

'Except in India, wherever Muhammadans succeeded in establishing themselves, they transformed society and culture beyond recognition. Islam simply came, saw, and conquered. Hindu India was both weak, divided and decadent. And yet, after centuries of continuous fighting, India could not be equally submerged. Paradoxical as it might seem, therefore, India on the eve of the Muslim invasions was both weak and unconquerable. She was politically most vulnerable, but culturally all but impregnable.'¹

The first Muslim conqueror of India was Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad (ibn Kāsim). He was an Arab and was acting as the agent of the governor of Irāk who was himself under the Caliph of Bagdad. He subdued Sind in 712 A.D. and the Arabs continued to hold it for a little over a century and a half (to 871 A.D.) But impermanent as this conquest proved, so far as the Arabs were concerned, Sind has remained ever since a predominantly Muslim province. The next Muhammadan invader was the Turkish Mahmud of Ghazni who raided India seventeen times (1001—25), despoiled the great Hindu temples of Nagarkot, Thānesar, Mathura, Brindāvan, Kanouj, and Somnath, and earned for himself the title of Idol-breaker :

The mighty Mahmud, the Victorious Lord,
That all the misbelieving and black Horde
Of Fears and Sorrows that infest the soul
Scatters and slays with his enchanted Sword.

1. S. R. Sharma, *The Crescent in India*, pp. 1-2.

Mahmud is also remembered for his association with the great scholar Al-Biruni and the great Persian poet Firdausi. The former was learned in 'astronomy, mathematics, chronology, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry, and minerology', and his great work on India is described as 'a magic island of quiet impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples.' Firdausi was the author of the greatest of Persian epics, the *Shah-namah*.

We have not the space here to recount, except very briefly, the rest of Muslim history in India, nor is more necessary for our purposes. Another Muhammad followed. He defeated and killed the famous Prithvi Raj Chauhan, and also paved the way for the foundation of the Slave 'dynasty.' The greatest of these were Iltutmish and Balban and a queen (rare in Muslim history), Razia. Then came the Khaljis of whom the most notable was Allauddin (1296—1316). Under him Muslim arms reached the farthest corners of India. Though extremely tyrannical, he was also a reformer. He tried to control the markets and prices as well as the consumption of liquor. The next dynasty was that of the Tughlaks of whom the remarkable and quixotic Muhammad (1325—51) is well known for his currency experiments and changing his capital from Delhi to Deogiri with disastrous consequences. "He was perfect in the humanities of his day," writes a historian, "a master of style, supremely eloquent in an age of rhetoric, a philosopher, trained in logic and Greek metaphysics, with whom scholars feared to argue, a mathematician and a lover of science." At the same time, according to the contemporary witness Ibn Battuta,

'This king of all men is the one who most loves to dispense gifts and to shed blood. His gateway is never free from a beggar

whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain. Tales are spread abroad among the people of his generosity and courage, as of his bloodshed and vindictiveness towards offenders. With all this he is the humblest of men and the most eager to show justice and truth. The rites of religion find full observance with him, and he is strict in the matter of prayer and in punishing its neglect. But what is pre-eminent in him is his generosity...when there was such famine in India that a maund of corn cost six *dinars* [3 *guineas*], he ordered six months' food to be distributed to all the inhabitants of Delhi from the crown stores. Each person, great or small, free or slave, was to have a pound and a half Morocco weight (about 2 lbs.) a day.'

The combination of bounty and cruelty indicated here was more or less typical of the Muslim Sultans. Except in rare cases, as with Zain-ul-Abideen of Kashmir (1417—67), the Hindus were invidiously treated. They had to pay the *jiziya* or poll-tax and were not allowed to practise their religion freely and openly. But the tendency on the whole was to soften the edge of difference between the conquerors and the conquered. Culturally, the two communities after centuries of conflict learnt much from each other. Hindu converts to Islam inevitably tended to modify its practice, if not its faith also. While the appearance of reforming saints like Nanak (1469—1539) and Kabir (1440—1518) served to purge Hinduism of its idolatry and exclusiveness. The spirit of compromise is well reflected in the following lines from Kabir :—

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong ?

If Rām be within the image, then who is there to know what happens without ?

Hari is in the East ; Allah is in the West. Look within your own heart, for there you will find both Karim and Rām.

All the men and women of the world are His living forms.

Kabir is the child of Allah and Rām ; He is my guru ; He is my pīr.

Vain too are the distinctions of caste.

All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light.

All varieties in human nature are but fragments of Humanity.

The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brāhmanas, but belongs to all who are sincere of heart.

Hindu India on the eve of the Muslim invasions had been a congeries of warring states, like the Paramars of Malwa, the Pratiharas of Kanauj, the Palas of Bengal, the Solankis of Gujarat, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan, the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas of South India, etc. Though we have necessarily to skip over these and many others, we may note a few salient facts about them. North India under the Pratiharas (c 700—1000 A.D.) and South India under the Cholas (c. 900—1100 A.D.) were about the only two Hindu powers that came very near to achieving anything like imperial unity. But even this was of an accidental and precarious nature being dependent upon personalities like Mihira Bhoja, Nāgabhatta, Rājārāja, and Rājendra. However, within their limited spheres, each kingdom maintained peace, fostered literature and industry, and practised religious toleration of a unique character. Jains, Buddhists, Brāhmanical and other Hindus lived for the most part amicably with one another irrespective of the faith of the rulers. The prosperity was so great at one time that it stimulated enterprise and carried both Hindus and Buddhists into distant lands like Burma, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. There a Greater India was created as we have noticed before. Pagan, Pegu, Cambodia, Srivijaya, Angkor, and Majapahit proclaimed to the world the glories of colonial India. The last named of these kingdoms was extinguished only as late as the close of the fifteenth century. Then it was swallowed up by the growing Muslim state of Malacca. But in their heyday the Hindus of Greater India

had successfully resisted the incursions of the Mongols under Kublai Khan. They had also carried on great building activities (e.g. Borobudur and Angkor Vat) and trade with India, China, the Philippine Islands, etc. At home also medieval Hinduism expressed itself luxuriantly in temple architecture. 'The Mārtāṇḍ Sun temple of Kashmir, the Khajurāho Vishnu temple of Central India, the rich Jaina temples of Mt. Abu, and the famous Saiva and Vaishnava temples of South India, particularly those built by the Cholas of Tanjore, the Pandyas of Madura, and the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra (Halēbīd and Belūr in Mysore), may be cited as examples. Mahmūd of Ghazni who destroyed the glorious temple of Somnath was struck with a sense of beauty by the shrines of Mathura and Kanouj though his zeal for Islam did not permit his sparing them through admiration. The Kailāsa temple of Ellura, excavated under Krishna I Rāshtrakūta, still evokes the admiration of the world. Princes and peasants had lavished their best gifts on these creations for generations before their fatal endowments attracted the heavy hammers of the greedy iconoclasts. Little did pious and self-complacent India of a thousand years ago dream that its princes and gods would alike prove impotent against a race of more realistic foreigners.' ¹

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE AGE OF EXPANSION

In the fifteenth century the great inventions, the geographical discoveries, the extension of commerce, the growth of capital, the rise of the middle class, the revival of learning, the growth of great dynastic states, destroyed the ideals of poverty, chastity and obedience.

—W. G. SUMNER

The period of transition from the Medieval to the Modern times is often referred to by historians as the *Renaissance* or *Renascence*. But this term, which signifies "re-birth", is rather misleading and inadequate to convey to us a full impression of the many-sided changes that took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in Western Europe. It may be more truly described as the Age of Expansion, geographical, commercial, social, intellectual, artistic, and moral. It was not so much or merely a *re-birth* of learning which is usually implied, but an all-round awakening and broadening of the human horizons. The Europeans, who were destined to revolutionise the whole world, felt during these centuries a fresh impulse of life which set their feet on new ground that bore ere long a harvest of unexpected fruit. If the world in which we live to-day is very different from what it was during the ages described in the preceding chapters of this book, it is largely because of what happened in this Age of Expansion. Here

it is well to recapitulate some of the outstanding tendencies of the Medieval times which already indicated the transformation that was to follow.

We cannot too often emphasise the continuity of human life and civilisation. There are no chasms in human progress. It is one long march from the primitive to the modern culture. The *past* never completely dies; it grows through the *present* into the *future*. The process may be sometimes slow, sometimes even disturbed, but never suspended. Likewise its pace is on occasions considerably quickened, as during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hence what appears to be a revival is not exactly a re-birth. There was in the New Age much that was old, but not necessarily like the reprint of an old edition of a book. Rather, it was the promise of childhood being fulfilled in maturity. We have witnessed how the legacies of Egypt and the Orient supplied the foundations of Greek civilisation and the Greeks inspired the Romans to enrich their own with the peculiar creations of the Hellenic genius. Similarly the Medieval civilisation rested upon the relics of the Roman Empire and culture. The barbarians who appeared to overthrow these in the Dark Ages did not really destroy everything. They only cut down the tares and weeds and stimulated a fresh growth. For instance, under the ægis of the Church and monasteries Latin continued to be universally studied and Roman Law survived the fall of the Empire which had promulgated it. Medieval European society was a compound of Latin and Teutonic elements.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century and its westward movement introduced another new element into European civilisation. Though the Moors and Saracens were regarded as the enemies of Christendom they proved to be the saviours and preservers of the Græco-Roman culture.

Aristotle, for instance, who was the most widely read ancient writer in the medieval world, was available for long only in Latin translations derived, not from the original Greek, but from Arabic. The Moorish universities of Cordoba and Toledo became the sources of inspiration to the Christian universities of later times. When these centres of learning and cultural influence were extinguished in the West, the Crusades kept up the contact with the East. While the Europeans hated the Muslims, particularly Turks, they profited both from their culture and trade. Indeed, they valued these so much that when their highways of commerce with the East were blocked by the Turks, the Europeans desperately sought other channels of communication with the Orient. Like a pent up stream bursting over a dam Europe, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, was bubbling with an overabundance of energy that was to find expression in a variety of forms which we shall study in the course of this chapter. The most remarkable outward feature of this energy was the spirit of adventure and geographical exploration.

Before Marco Polo (1260-95) advertised the Orient among the Europeans their knowledge of the outside world was very limited. Indeed, that was the case with most people in times when the means of communication were very difficult, both by land and sea. Moreover, the needs of all people were so few and simple that they rarely felt the necessity of looking far around. Even if any desired to travel widely such roads as existed were so beset with dangers that few would take the risk. Wars were frequent, robbers were rampant on land routes and pirates infested the seas. Yet, thanks to the enterprising spirit of traders, and the intercourse stimulated by the Mongolian invasions and the Crusades, even in the Middle Ages there existed a

flourishing commerce between Europe and Asia. But the principal carriers of this trade were the Muslims and the routes lay through Muslim countries. When the hostile Turks prevented the Europeans from using these ancient routes, fresh ways had to be discovered. "The needs of commerce," as Professor Webster has observed, "largely account for early exploring voyages. Eastern spices—cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger—were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt meat during the winter and salt fish during lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums, dyes, and fragrant woods came from the East."

The pioneers of enterprise in the discovery of the new routes to the East were the Portuguese and the Spaniards. For want of space we have to be content here with a bare summary of the most important facts connected with them. The Chinese had long ago discovered the use of the magnetised needle to determine the directions on uncharted seas. But for the resulting mariner's compass, geographical exploration on a vast scale, such as that of the fifteenth and the following centuries, would have been difficult. Another helpful factor was the increasing acceptance of the hypothesis about the sphericity of the earth, believed in since the days of Ptolemy, which suggested the possibility of circumnavigation. Under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator (Dom Henriques) of Portugal, a beginning was made in the exploration of the west coast of Africa southwards. It culminated in the discovery of the Cape route to India. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa in 1487 and significantly christened it the Cape of Good Hope. Before ten years had elapsed after this, Vasco da Gama started on his famous voyage which brought him to

Calicut in 1498. When he returned to Lisbon he carried with him a cargo worth sixty times the cost of his expedition, and was rewarded by the King of Portugal with the title of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, and India'. Java and the Moluccas were reached by the Portuguese in 1512.

But the most surprising discovery of the age, however, was that of America by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci after whom the continent has taken its name. The former, a Genoese adventurer, reached the West Indies in 1492, starting on a voyage intended to reach the East by the shortest route! The globe prepared by the German geographer, Martin Behaim, in 1490, had shown Cipango (Japan) just where Columbus landed, little suspecting the intruding obstacle of America. Amerigo sailed after 1497, but was lucky enough to have his name immortalised by a German map-maker. Columbus made four voyages in all (1492, 1493, 1498, and 1503) to the 'Indies' only to die in Spain a discredited, dishonoured, and disappointed man.

These western discoveries were made under Spanish auspices. Christopher Columbus was patronised by Queen Isabella of Castile. Balboa beheld the Pacific Ocean across Panama in 1513, and the Portuguese Magellan, in the service of Spain, passed into the Pacific (so called by Magellan on account of its calm in contrast to the Atlantic) through the Strait named after him, in 1519, and reached the Philippine Islands where unfortunately he was killed. But three years after the expedition had started, only one (*Victoria*) out of the five ships that had set out under Magellan, reached Seville harbour, returning *via* the Cape of Good Hope. This is the first recorded circumnavigation of the earth. Others followed in the wake of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, but we have no space to describe them. The

pioneers claimed a monopoly of exploitation of the new lands discovered by them, the reactions of which we shall describe in a later chapter. A Papal Bull confirmed their respective claims in 1493 : an imaginary line was drawn by Pope Alexander VI through the Atlantic, 300 miles west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, the East being the share of the Portuguese and the West of the Spaniards. The Demarcation Line was shifted in 1494, 800 miles farther to the west, so that, in 1500, when Brazil was discovered by the Portuguese it was found to lie within their purview.

Here we must digress a little to note the conditions of civilisation in the new continent. Mexico and Peru were conquered respectively by Cortez and Pizarro in 1519-21 and 1531-32. They were both adventurers who were prone to practise every type of villainy, "ignorant, fanatical, lustful of blood and gold," as Professor Hearnshaw has described them. Mexico and Peru were both seats of an ancient civilisation "which seems to have had many affinities with the so-called 'heliolithic' civilisation which prevailed in the Mediterranean world some thousand years B.C." The opportunity, writes Professor Hearnshaw, was unique to gain an insight into ideas and institutions widely divergent from those of Christendom, but it was forever lost ; for the savage invaders thought only to plunder, slay and destroy.¹ One incident may be cited for illustration. Through treachery Pizarro made Atahualpa, the Inca leader, captive, and demanded for his ransom a room full of gold 'as high as he could reach.' The demand was fulfilled, but not the promise. Pizarro took both Atahualpa's gold and life. The Incas of Peru were far advanced in civilisation. The great cities of their empire were filled with splendid palaces and

1. *A First Book of World History*, p. 149.

temples, and throughout their country there were magnificent works of public utility, such as roads, bridges, and aqueducts. Their government was a mild paternal autocracy. Their Spanish conquerors robbed and reduced them to abject slavery when they were not ruthlessly exterminated to make room for Negro slaves imported from Africa.¹

From this tale of discovery and conquest we shall now turn to the more interesting intellectual developments of the age. "The widening of the physical horizon," as one writer has observed, "brought a corresponding extension of the intellectual horizon." The initial impulse for it likewise came from the East. The Turkish occupation of South-Eastern Europe had driven the Greeks westwards to 'Magna-Graecia' or South Italy. The fall of Constantinople brought in its train a large band of Greek refugees to Rome and the other Italian cities. Among these were not a few scholars who brought with them many valuable manuscripts of the Greek classics. This naturally evoked interest in the ancient Hellenic literature and culture among the Italians. That interest soon developed into a wider movement known as *Humanism*. It was so described because throughout the Middle Ages the best of the intellectuals had concentrated their energies on theological studies, whereas the new learning was centred round subjects of "human" interest. From this point of view Dante's *Divina Commedia* (noticed earlier), though it has been called the "Epic of Medievalism" was also a forerunner of the new movement in literature. Petrarch (1304-74) was even a greater representative of this humanism. In fact he is considered the greatest of humanists.

1. Read "The Lost Treasures of Mexico and Peru" and "South America's Marvels in Masonry" in *Wonders of the Past*, I pp. 411-12 and 585-99.

"To understand Petrarch is to understand the Renaissance. He was the first scholar of the medieval time who fully realized and appreciated the supreme excellence and beauty of the classical literature and its value as a means of culture. His enthusiasm for the ancient writers was a sort of worship."¹ His most distinguished disciple was Boccaccio (1313-75), the inspirer of Chaucer in England. Among the most prominent promoters of the New Learning were the famous Medici (Cosimo and Lorenzo) of Florence, and the Popes, Nicholas V (1447-55), Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (1513-21). Under the latter Rome became a brilliant centre of Renaissance art and learning. When Constantinople fell, they said, "Greece has not fallen, she has migrated to Italy." The enthusiasm for culture and learning shown by the scholars of the Renaissance, the wonderful experience and achievements of the discoverers, and, finally, the intellectual freedom gained in the reformation struggle (Professors Keatinge and Frazer have observed), resulted in such an outburst of genius in the sixteenth century as the history of the world has rarely equalled. Every country of Europe made some contribution to the glorious output. Science and literature alike yielded master creations of the human mind.²

We have already mentioned some of the forerunners of this great awakening: Albertus Magnus (1206-80), Thomas Aquinas (1226-74), and Roger Bacon (1214-94). The spirit and outlook of the age are well reflected in the following passage from the last named scholar's *Opus Maius*:

There are two modes in which we acquire knowledge, *argument* and *experiment*. Argument shuts up the question, and makes us shut it up too, but it gives no proof, nor does it re-

1. Myers, *General History*, p. 477.

2. *Introduction to World History*, p. 227.

move doubt and cause the mind to rest in the conscious possession of truth, unless the truth is discovered by way of experience, e.g., if any man who had seen fire were to prove by satisfactory argument that fire burns and destroys things, the hearer's mind would not rest satisfied, nor would it avoid fire; until by putting his hand or some combustible thing into it, he proved by actual experiment what the argument laid down; but after the experiment had been made, his mind receives certainty, and rests in the possession of truth which could not be given by argument, but only by experience.

Roger Bacon, as Westaway says, stands out for all time as the successful *pioneer of experimental investigation*. In the succeeding centuries (1301-1600) there were creative geniuses in every walk of life. The spirit of Roger Bacon and Columbus was abroad, and the enlightenment of Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch (1304-74) appeared to inspire everybody. The versatility of Michael Angelo (1475-1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is admired even to-day. Copernicus the Pole (1473-1543), Tycho Brahe the Dane (1546-1601), Kepler the German (1571-1630), and Galileo the Italian (1564-1642),—all astronomers of the greatest repute, extended the vision of humanity to worlds beyond the terrestrial. The invention or introduction of printing with moveable types (first used by the Chinese) had even more momentous consequences than that of the mariner's compass. Professor Will Durant has rightly described this as the greatest invention, after writing, in the history of our race.¹ The pioneers in Europe in this direction were Guttenberg (Germany) and Caxton (England). The Chinese had discovered the art of manufacturing paper out of silk; the Arabs and Europeans substituted linen for this. The simultaneous con-

1. Read further details in *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 727-31; and for an account of scientific progress, Westaway, *The Endless Quest*, pp. 102 ff.

trivance of the two (printing and paper) proved as useful as the combination of the steam engine and coal two centuries later. They resulted in a wonderful dissemination and extension of the New Learning.

In the realm of literature the Italian Ariosto (1474-1533) and Machiavelli (1469-1527), the Frenchmen Rabelais (1490-1553) and Montaigne (1533-1592), the Spanish Cervantes (1547-1616), and the English Spenser (1552-99), Shakespeare (1564-1616), and Francis Bacon (1560-1626), may be taken as representative writers. Ariosto was a romantic poet, and in his *Orlando Furioso* he says,

Of ladies and of knights, of arms and love,
Of courtesy and of brave deeds I sing.

He inspired Spenser, Shakespeare, and the other Elizabethan poets in England. Machiavelli, the author of *The Prince* and *The Art of War*, was a politician devoid of any moral sense. His name has become proverbial for "Realpolitik" or unscrupulous statecraft. Francis Bacon admiringly said: "We are much beholden to Machiavelli and others that wrote what men do and not what men ought to do." Cæsar Borgia (1476-1507), natural son of Pope Alexander VI, was the embodiment of Machiavelli's ideal *Prince*: In the words of Mr. H. G. Wells,

"Cæsar was a youth of spirit even for the times in which he lived; he had early caused his elder brother to be murdered, and also the husband of his sister Lucrezia. He had, indeed, betrayed and murdered a number of people. With his father's assistance he had become duke of a wide area of Central Italy when Machiavelli visited him. He had shown little or no military ability, but considerable dexterity and administrative power. His magnificence was of the most temporary sort. When presently his father died, it collapsed like a pricked bladder. Its unsoundness was not evident to Machiavelli. Our chief interest in Cæsar

Borgia is that he realized Machiavelli's highest ideals of a superb and successful prince." ¹

John Drinkwater has said, in his *The Outline of Literature*, that "The Frenchman Rabelais, the Spaniard Cervantes, and the Englishman Shakespeare, are without question the three giants of the Renaissance."² Since the last of these is too well-known, only the first two need a word of introduction. It is said of Rabelais that his writing "seems to belong to the morning of the world, a time of mirth and a time of expectation." Montaigne was a great essayist and humanitarian. "The greatest thing of the world," he declared, "is for a man to know how to be his own." In one of his essays he quotes an old sailor, who said : "O God, Thou wilt save me, if it be Thy will, and if Thou choosest, Thou wilt destroy me ; but, however it be, I will always hold my rudder straight." That, says Drinkwater, is Montaigne. Both Rabelais and Montaigne represented the Renaissance in France.

Cervantes was the author of *Don Quixote*, which is spoken of as "the most beautiful and wonderful gift of the Renaissance to the literature of the world," apart from the plays of Shakespeare. In it the author presents to us the brilliant pageant of Spanish society in the sixteenth century, but that pageant is also of humanity and belongs to all time, like the creations of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dickens.

Francis Bacon was the typical product of his age : 'the greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind.' Like Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, he was versatile. He was a statesman, lawyer, wit, philosopher and man of letters ; "and in each of these several capacities he won a pre-

1. *The Outline of History*, p. 781.

2. P. 256.

eminent place." It is said that although many others could rival him in the mere acquisition of knowledge, "none since Aristotle had so succeeded in impressing the whole with his own mental stamp, and in inspiring a new campaign against ignorance and disorder." His *Essays* are still the most popular of all his works. In one of them Bacon says,

"There are three means to fortify belief. The first, is experience ; the second, reason ; the third, authority : and that of these which is far the most potent is authority ; for belief upon reason or upon experience will stagger."

The greatest imaginative work of the Renaissance period was Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. In that age of discovery, romances, poetry, and new ideals the Renaissance dreamer, 'weary of old abuses, and longing for a more rational and more kindly society,' created this unique work, first published in 1516. More was far ahead of his times, for he "not only denounced the ordinary vices of power, but evinced an enlightenment of sentiment which went far beyond the most statesmanlike ideas to be found among his contemporaries, pronouncing not merely for toleration, but rising even to the philosophic conception of the indifference of religious creed." We shall make a survey of the religious outlook of the age in the next chapter. But before that we must briefly notice the progress in Art.

An age of such expanding horizons and boundless creative energies was bound to express itself in enduring forms of art. With the growth of wealth and the spread of enlightenment came also the desire for better architecture and better æsthetic surroundings. Medieval towns and buildings had been built more for security than for the satisfaction of any artistic ideas. Thus the manorial house was a castle and even the churches and monasteries conformed to the

heavier types of Roman architecture. But now there was a demand for grace and ventilation, and Gothic took the place of the Romanesque. Lancet-shaped windows and arches were constructed instead of the rounded windows and wide round arches on massive round pillars ; tall slender spires were built in place of the massive domes and bell-capitals. St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's in London and St. Mark's and the Doge's Palace in Venice, may be cited as the most interesting creations of this period. In the last named, 'all influences built themselves in marble : the Greek and Oriental columns, Roman and Gothic arches, Oriental domes, Moorish ornament and colour, all combined into a new beauty neither Gothic, Classic, nor Oriental, but Venetian, a beauty rich in detail and daring in cosmopolitan combination.'

As in architecture so in painting the Renaissance made its own contributions. The gifted Van Eyck brothers, Hubert and Jan (c. 1380-1440), began a new style in Holland ; their work was fresh, bright and delightful. A kindred spirit was found in Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) of Nuremberg and Hans Holbein (1497-1533) in Germany. But the greatest masters of all were in Italy. They were Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who painted his masterpiece (*Last Supper*) on the wall of a convent in Milan ; Raphael (1483-1520), 'the best beloved of artists', whose *Madonnas* are counted among the world's treasures ; Michael Angelo (1475-1564) with his wonderful frescoes (e. g. the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel at Rome) ; and Titian (1477-1576), the Venetian master, 'celebrated for his portraits which have preserved for us in the flesh and blood, so to speak, many of the most noteworthy personages of his time.' The change in artistic traditions brought about by all these Renaissance artists is well summed up by

Philip Van Ness Myers in the following words :

"The earlier Italian painters drew their subjects chiefly from Christian sources. They literally covered the walls of the churches, palaces, and civic buildings of Italy with pictorial representations of all the ideas and imaginings of the mediæval ages respecting death, the judgment, heaven and hell. The later artists, more under the influence of the classical revival, mingled freely Pagan and Christian subjects and motives, and thus became truer representatives than their predecessors of the Renaissance movement, one important issue of which was to be the blending of Pagan and Christian culture."¹

1. *General History*, p. 484.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE

Paganism and Catholicism, which, in the fifteenth century, might have shared their supremacy, have ever since been kept apart by the solid wedge driven by Protestantism into the spiritual and intellectual life of Europe. —DAVID OGG

The Reformation in Europe was one of the most important results of the intellectual ferment which we witnessed in the previous chapter. The all-sided changes that were coming over the lives and minds of people were bound to affect their religious views as well. In particular, the new discoveries and astronomical observations were opposed to the Biblical ideas of the universe, and the Renaissance stimulated people to rely more on actual experience rather than on authority. The Church, which had served European society so well in the past, was rooted in Faith and founded on authority. Hence, in the wake of new ideas and outlooks, it was faced with a formidable force which appeared to be stronger than even the barbarians it had converted and tamed. It had not merely survived all persecutions at the hands of the old pagans, but derived considerable power out of its struggles. In the course of the Dark Ages it had become the one rallying centre of civilisation, and the home and nursery of arts, industry, and learning. The Crusades had been fought under its ægis and inspiration; and even Emperors had been reduced to penitence and submission by

its omnipotence. But now a new enlightenment was spreading, which, drawing its inspiration from classical paganism, threatened to undermine the very foundations of the Christian Church. Out of this turmoil and conflict, between the Old and the New, was to be born a new Europe,—the maker of the modern world.

The Church had grown so rich and become so unwieldy that some of the weaknesses which had brought the great Roman Empire into the dust also began to manifest themselves in its life. Unrestrained authority, though exercised in the name of God, inevitably led to corruption, and this could not stand the light of the new day that was dawning over Europe since the thirteenth century A.D. Just as the Roman Empire had first split up into two divisions and then into several kingdoms, the Universal Church was also to be divided into, not only the Eastern and the Western Churches, but into innumerable heretical sects as well. Some of the earlier heresies were born out of theological differences, but during the age under review they arose out of the corrupt practices and vices of Church dignitaries. Hence, we find that many of the new attacks against the Church were led by some of the most learned and well-meaning among Churchmen themselves, who were anxious to *reform* the existing Church rather than found new churches. We shall illustrate this movement by reference to some of its outstanding leaders without entering into controversial theological discussions.

The first of these was John Wycliffe, a teacher at Oxford. Born about 1320, he came into prominence after 1366. Pope Urban V demanded that England should pay the tribute promised by King John (of *Magna Carta* fame) during his submission and humiliation. Wycliffe led the agitation against this demand and tried to establish that John's agree-

ment was void and not binding upon the English people. This soon developed into a general attack upon the Pope and the interference of a foreign Church which had become the butt of much criticism. One of the good things Wycliffe did was to have the Bible translated into English. By this he earned the name of "father of English prose" as no good English prose works existed before his time. His followers, called the "simple priests," were denounced as the Lollards and charged with inciting discontent which led to disorders known as the Peasants' Revolt. Wycliffe himself was excommunicated by the Pope and he died in 1384. He is remembered as the first distinguished scholar and reformer to repudiate the supremacy of the Pope and such practices of the Church as called forth the more violent attacks of Luther a hundred and fifty years later in Germany.

The See of St. Peter had come into disrepute owing to the evil life of some who filled that high office. With the emergence of strong monarchies out of the feudal chaos the old quarrel between Church and State, we noticed in an earlier chapter, reappeared in a more acute form. The Church had amassed great wealth. Who was to appoint its officials? Were the Church lands to be taxed like ordinary estates or not? By whom and in what courts were offenders connected with the Church to be tried and punished? Were they to be subject to Canon (Church) Law or the ordinary law of the land? Had the Pope any right to interfere with the monarchs and their subjects? These were some of the questions about which opposite views were held by the Church and secular authorities. A quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France, regarding such matters led to very serious consequences.

In 1296, Boniface issued a Bull (order) known as *Clericis laicos*, forbidding the clergy and monks to pay, without his

consent, any revenue out of Church property to any king or ruler. He also threatened rulers who should presume to exact such tribute with excommunication. The King of France, Philip the Fair, took up the challenge by bearding the lion in his own den. Finally, in 1305, he got a Pope of his own choice ("Clement V") appointed. These servile Popes continued to be proclaimed until 1377 at Avignon on the border of France.¹ Ultimately, this led to rival Popes being ordained in France and Italy, both claiming to be sole head of the Church. In 1409 a great council was called to Pisa to settle the dispute. Both the rivals at Avignon and Rome were declared deposed and a new Pope was proclaimed. But this only increased the number of Popes to *three* in place of two! The *Great Schism* was not "healed" until the memorable Council of Constance, which met in 1414 and continued its sessions till 1427. Its two great achievements were the burning of Huss (a Bohemian follower of Wycliffe) as a heretic and the appointment of Pope Martin V who displaced all the others.

Another great critic of the decadent Church was the Dutch scholar Erasmus (c. 1469—1536). He was a very learned man and keenly desired to improve the religious conditions in the countries of Western Europe. Though born in Holland he spent much of his life in France, England, Italy, and Germany. As a boy he had been forced into a monastery, much against his will, but he lived to be an earnest monk, greatly interested in Greek and Latin authors, as well as in religious reform. "The essence of our religion," he said, "is peace and harmony. These can only exist where

1. This is known as the "Babylonian Captivity" as it recalled the memory of the Jewish patriarchs taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar (see p. 88 *ante*).

there are few dogmas and each individual is left to form his own opinion upon many matters." He wrote a book entitled "*The Praise of Folly*" in which he fearlessly ridiculed the corrupt practices and weaknesses of the monks and theologians. The effect of its publication was so great that people said that 'the jokes of Erasmus did the Pope more harm than even the anger of Luther.' However, his intention was not to ridicule, but only to reform.

But by far the most consequential among the reformers of this age was Martin Luther (1483—1546). He was an Augustinian friar and professor at Wittenberg. When he first entered the monastic life he was full of enthusiasm for the Church. "Now," he said, "I felt born again, and it seemed to me as though heaven's gates stood full open before me, and I was joyfully entering therein." But when he visited Rome he was staggered with disillusionment. The Pope had sunk to the level of the Italian princes; and the clergy showed no more piety or morality than the neo-pagan humanists of the Renaissance. 'They struggled to recover and enlarge the papal states; they sought to secure principalities and heiresses for their nephews, who were not infrequently their sons; they entered into alliances and waged wars, sometimes themselves donning armour and leading their troops; they patronised the scholars and artists of the new era, and smiled at their open assaults on the Christian religion and their flagrant immoralities; they rebuilt and beautified Rome, using for the purpose the contributions of the faithful of all lands.' The earnest and devout soul of Luther revolted against this, and especially at the abuse and sale of "Indulgences"—a sordid device for exploiting the faithful and enriching the churchmen. Consequently, he denounced the "pietism" of sinners who were not "justified by faith." "If the Pope," he cried out, "releases souls from

purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake?" and "Since the Pope is rich as Cræsus, why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

In 1506 Pope Julius II had commenced the reconstruction of the magnificent church of St. Peter, in Rome, at enormous expenditure. The work had been entrusted to the most famous of contemporary artists and architects—Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Bramante. Hence, the collection of necessary funds, principally through the sale of *Indulgences*, was vigorously pushed forward. Luther openly protested against this campaign and published his objections in the form of ninety-five *theses* nailed to the door of the church at Wittenberg (1517). When the excited people of Germany supported this "protestant" monk, the Pope excommunicated Luther (1520) and the Emperor Charles V banned him (1521). These orders were publicly burned by Luther and his exasperated followers. Thus was Protestantism born in Germany out of the embers of the widespread discontent in Western Europe. When Luther consigned the Papal Bull to the fire he cried out: "Because thou dost trouble the Holy One of the Lord, may eternal fire consume thee!" This incantation was soon to set Europe ablaze with the fires of religious conflict.

Luther was summoned for trial before the imperial Diet (Council) at Worms, but he would not repent or retract: "Unless I am convinced of error by the testimony of Scripture or by manifest evidence," he firmly declared, "I cannot and will not retract." The Emperor Charles V, who presided, then pronounced his verdict:

"What my forefathers established at the Council of Constance and at other councils it is my privilege to uphold. A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the

faith held by Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred. I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, and my life and soul. After Luther's stiff-necked reply in my presence yesterday I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have now resolved never again, under any circumstances, to hear him."

This was virtually a declaration of war on the heretics, though Luther never contemplated any attacks on the 'doctrines' of the faith. When the peasants rose in revolt, ostensibly in his support, but really on account of insupportable economic burdens, he denounced the rebels, saying: "I think that all peasants should perish rather than the princes and magistrates, because the peasants have taken up the sword without divine authority. The peasants are under the ban of God and of the Emperor and may be treated as mad dogs." At the Diet of Spier (Speyer), in 1526, it was laid down that each ruler should 'so live, reign, and conduct himself as he would be willing to answer before God and His Imperial Majesty.' When another Diet at the same place tried to reverse the decree, in 1529, on account of growing extremism among the critics of the Church, the princes (of Saxony, Hesse, Strassburg, etc.) *protested* against interference with their religious freedom. Hence, they were called *Protestants*. They put their demands in a famous document known as the *Augsburg Confession*. This divided Germany and Europe into two opposing camps, the Protestants being mostly the followers of Luther. "German Protestantism," as Professor Hearnshaw has observed, "was the revolt of the Teuton against Latin domination; the rebellion of the lay-mind against clerical authority; the resentment of the frugal maker of wealth at unscrupulous spoliation; the rising of the free intellect against inquisitorial re-

pression; the resurgence of the individual against the restrictive community; above all the reaction of a moral people against a practice—the sale of Indulgences—which easily rent itself to the most scandalous abuses.”¹

So far as Germany was concerned a sort of religious settlement was arrived at in the “Peace of Augsburg” in 1555. By it, ‘each German prince and each town and knight, immediately under the Emperor, was to be at liberty to make a choice between the beliefs of the venerable Catholic Church and those embodied in the Augsburg Confession. If, however, an ecclesiastical prince—an archbishop, bishop, or abbot—declared himself a Protestant, he must surrender his possessions to the Church. Every German was either to conform to the religious practices of his particular state or emigrate from it. Every one was supposed to be either a Catholic or a Lutheran, and no provision was made for any other belief.’ *Cujus regio ejus religio*: the religion of the ruler was to be the faith of the state.

We must rather rapidly sketch the history and influence of Protestantism in other countries. “For at least a century after Luther’s death,” writes Professor Robinson, “the great issue between Catholics and Protestants dominates the history of all the countries with which we have to do, except Italy and Spain, where Protestantism never took permanent root. In Switzerland, England, France, and Holland the revolt against the Medieval Church produced discord, wars, and profound changes, which must be understood in order to follow the later development of these countries.”²

Zwingli (1484-1531) was the leader of this movement in Switzerland, and Calvin (1509-64) in France. The former

1. *A First Book of World History*, p. 152.

2. *The Ordeal of Civilization*, p. 305.

was a liberal-minded humanist and scholar of Zurich. He lived in the monastery of Einsiedeln, where pilgrims gathered from all parts on account of a 'wonder-working image.' "Here," says Zwingli, "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in 1516, before any one in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther." He paid for this with his life; for he fell fighting at Kappel, in 1531, in the course of a religious war. Unlike Luther, Zwingli had not to create public opinion but only to direct it. A willing press gave wide publicity to his views about the Church as a "republic of believers," and denouncing the doctrines of purgatory, invocation of saints, clerical celibacy, fasts, pilgrimages, and transubstantiation. Even the civic authorities rendered him assistance. But the defeat of the Zwinglians at Kappel gave the palm of leadership to Geneva instead of Zurich.

John Calvin was a Frenchman who had studied his Classics in Paris, and Law at Bourges and Orleans. In spirit he was the most combative and uncompromising of all the reformers. Mr. David Ogg writes, "What Lenin was to the monarchist régime in Russia, such was Calvin to the empire of Catholicism in Western Europe: in both men there was the same absolute consistency of purpose and the same refusal to deviate by a hair's breadth from the path indicated by an imperious logic: in both there was the same indefinable and almost hypnotic power by which their followers were alternately fascinated and perturbed."¹ Calvin taught predestination and followed the stoic ideal in life. "Men are not all born equal," he said, "for some are pre-ordained to eternal life, some to eternal damnation." In spite of this gloomy doctrine, Calvin exercised a wholesome influence upon the semi-paganised society around him. He

1. *The Reformation*, p. 41.

subjected his followers to a stern moral discipline, and Calvinism, with its headquarters at Geneva, "has been associated with the most progressive and enterprising peoples of modern times." Calvin entrusted the management of Church affairs to *presbyters* or elders, from whom is derived the term "Presbyterian." Both France and Scotland were much influenced by this reformer.

In France the Reformation had already made inroads in the shape of heretical sects like the Waldenses.¹ Despite persecutions and massacres, particularly under Henry II (1547-59), the number of Protestants had increased. By the direction of Calvin (1555-64) a vigorous reformist church was brought into existence in France. The inevitable result was a dreary period of Wars of Religion which lasted from 1559-1598. Under the Guises a régime of intrigue, treason, and terrorism was established. These were the days of the persecutions of the Huguenots—St. Bartholomew's Day (1572)—and the French Protestant alliance with England. The tide turned, as the reader might know, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588: in the following year the Guises were assassinated, and the Huguenots found a capable leader in Henry of Navarre, who succeeded to the French throne. By the famous Edict of Nantes (1598) the Huguenots, for the time being, secured religious toleration.

In Scotland the leader of the new movement was John Knox (1505-72), a disciple of Calvin. He was an avowed enemy of 'popery and idolatry,' and the *Kirk* (church) which he established held sway for over three centuries. Migrating into Ireland, together with the English Protestants, the Scotch Calvinists helped to create there the problem of Ulster.

1. From Peter Waldo who sought guidance from the reformers of Germany and Switzerland.

Of English Protestantism, which must be more familiar to the reader, we need write very little here. The ground had no doubt been prepared by Wycliffe, "the morning star of the Reformation." Erasmus too had lived in England for a long time, and Tyndale had again translated the *Bible* into English before he was burnt as a heretic in Flanders. But the course of the Reformation in England, it is well-known, was determined by Henry VIII's disgust towards his first wife Catharine, and his love for Anne Boleyn. For this, he summoned the Reformation Parliament (1529-36), abolished appeals to the Papal court, confirmed the divorce, and proclaimed by statute that the King of England 'justly is, and ought to be, the Supreme head of the Church of England.' The Reformation in England was more political than religious to begin with. Henry had won the title of Defender of the Faith (which is still borne by His Majesty) by his defence of the Catholic Church against the Lutheran attacks. He also burnt Anabaptists and Lutherans at the stake as heretics. But, at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that he also executed Papalists like Sir Thomas More (author of *Utopia*) and Bishop Fisher, and despoiled and abolished monasteries, for the sake of their riches. Under his successors, England staggered from the Protestant extremism of Edward VI and Somerset to the Catholic extremism of Mary, until she finally settled down to the stabler compromise of the English Church under Elizabeth. The only common feature between all these was the burning of 'heretics.' We have a glimpse of the mind of Tudor England in the following order for the execution of Bishop Hooper:—

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic,

and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; for asmuch as in those cities, and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there. And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vain glorious person, and delighted in his tongue, and, having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is, therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as ye tender our pleasure.

To save itself from the surging tide of Protestantism the Roman Catholic Church adopted various measures which had very far-reaching consequences. This is often described as the "Counter-Reformation." The most distinguished workers in this attempt to set the Catholic house in order were the Jesuits, members of a glorious Order—the Society of Jesus—founded by the Spaniard, St. Ignatius Loyola (1493-1556). The Pope, Paul III, approving of "this army of Jesus Christ," described the society as one

"founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions."

As Mr. Wells has pointed out in his *Outline of History*, "It was the Order of the Jesuits which carried Christianity to China again after the downfall of the Ming dynasty, and Jesuits were the chief Christian missionaries in India and North America. To their civilizing work among the Indians in South America we shall presently allude. But their main achievement lay in raising the standard of Catholic education. Their schools became and remained for a long time the best schools in Christendom. Says Lord Verulam (Sir Francis Bacon): 'As for the pedagogic part... consult the schools of the Jesuits, for nothing better has been put in practice.' They raised the level of intelligence, they quickened the conscience of all Catholic Europe, they stimulated Protestant Europe to competitive educational effort."

The other great agency in the uplift of the Catholic cause was the Council of Trent which worked from 1545 to 1563. Its efforts were directed towards (1) defining the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and defending the same against the objections raised by the Protestants; (2) succinctly and explicitly declaring accursed the various heretical beliefs; and (3) abolishing the various abuses that had crept into the Church, and enforcing a more rigid discipline among the clergy and monks.

The Index and the Inquisition represented two other aspects of the Counter-Reformation. By the former the Popes sought to ban heretical literature and by the latter heretical lives. The two proscriptions together showed how far Europe was from religious toleration despite the enlightenment of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

CHRONOLOGY

SECTION THREE

A.D.

105	Chinese manufactured paper.
206—221	Han Dynasty.
311	Emperor Galerius : official recognition of Christianity.
397	House of Toba founded.
410	Alaric the Goth : fall of Rome.
438	Code of Theodosius (completed).
455	Emperor Valentinian III proclaims the Pope's supremacy over Christendom.
467	Western Roman Empire extinguished.
496	King Clovis baptised.
502—57	Liang Dynasty.
526	Benedictine Order founded.
570	Prophet Muhammad born.
589—618	Sur Dynasty.
605—17	Yang Ti.
618—907	Tang Dynasty.
622	<i>Hijra</i> : flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.
627—50	T'ai Tsung.
632	Death of Muhammad (Prophet).
647	Death of Harsha of Kanouj.
700—1000	Pratiharas.
711	Arabs conquer Spain.
712	Arab conquest of Sind.
732	Battle of Tours : Saracen advance into France checked.
737	Battle of Kadessia.
741	Death of Charles Martel.
768—814	Charlemagne.
800	Charlemagne crowned by Pope Leo III.

A.D.

- 809 Death of Haroun-al-Rashchid.
 843 Treaty of Verdun : Partition of Charlemagne's Empire.
 865—925 Rhazes (Arab scholar).
 870 Treaty of Mersen : further division of Charlemagne's Empire.
 900—1100 Cholas ; Golden Age of Islamic Science.
 960—1280 Sung Dynasty.
 962 Otto the Great crowned by the Pope : beginning of the Holy Roman Empire.
 973—1048 Al-Biruni.
 980—1037 Abu 'Ali-al-Husayu ibn Sina (Avicenna).
 1056—1106 Henry IV (Emperor).
 1056—1254 Crusades.
 1068—86 Wang An-shih.
 1079—1142 Abelard.
 1095 Council of Clermont.
 1101 Godfrey first King of Jerusalem died.
 1106—25 Henry V (Emperor).
 1122 Concordat of Worms.
 1126—98 Abu'l-Walid ibn Rushd.
 1147 Turks massacre Christians at Edessa.
 1152—90 Frederick Barbarosa (Emperor).
 1155—1227 Chengiz Khan.
 1187 Jerusalem taken by Saladin.
 1198—1216 Pope Innocent III.
 1206—80 Albertus Magnus.
 1212 Children's Crusade.
 1212—50 Frederick II (Emperor).
 1215 *Magna Carta*.
 1236 Cordoba captured by King of Castile.
 1258 Abbasid Caliphate ended by Hulagu : Bagdad destroyed by Mongols.
 1260—95 Marco-Polo.
 1274 Thomas Aquinas died.
 1280—1368 Yuan Dynasty.
 1292 Kublai Khan died.
 1294 Roger Bacon died.

A.D.

- 1296 *Clericis Laicos* (Papal Bull).
 1296—1316 Allaudin Khalji.
 1302 Dante banished from Florence.
 1304—74 Petrarch.
 1305 Pope Clement V.
 1313—75 Boccaccio.
 1320 Wycliffe born.
 1321 Dante died.
 1325—51 Muhammad Tughlak.
 1369—1405 Timur.
 1380—1440 Van Eyck brothers.
 1398 Timur in India.
 1402 Turks defeated at Angora by Timur.
 1409 Great Council of Pisa.
 1414 Council of Constance.
 1417—67 Zain-ul-Abideen liberal ruler of Kashmir.
 1440—1518 Kabir.
 1447—55 Pope Nicholas V.
 1452—1519 Leonardo da Vinci.
 1453 Constantinople captured by Turks.
 1469—1527 Machiavelli.
 1469—1536 Erasmus.
 1469—1539 Nanak.
 1471—1528 Albrecht Dürer.
 1473—1543 Copernicus.
 1474—1533 Ariosto.
 1475—1564 Michael Angelo.
 1476—1507 Cæsar Borgia.
 1477—1576 Titian.
 1483—1520 Raphael.
 1483—1546 Martin Luther.
 1484—1531 Zwingli.
 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded Cape of Good Hope.
 1490 Martin Behaim cartographer.
 1490—1553 Rabelais.
 1492 Conquest of Granada; Columbus reached West Indies.

A.D.

- 1493 Papal Bull dividing the World between Spain and Portugal.
- 1493—1556 St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus.
- 1497—1533 Hans Halbein.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama reached Calicut.
- 1503—13 Pope Julius II.
- 1505—72 John Knox.
- 1509—64 Calvin.
- 1512 Portuguese reached Java and Moluccas.
- 1513 Balboa saw Pacific Ocean across Panama.
- 1513—21 Pope Leo X.
- 1517 Luther's challenge (95 theses).
- 1519 Magellan at Strait of Magellan.
- 1519—21 Conquest of Mexico by Cortez.
- 1520—21 Luther excommunicated and banned.
- 1520—66 Zenith of Ottoman power.
- 1526 First Battle of Panipat : Mughal Empire founded by Babur.
- Diet of Spier.
- 1529—36 Reformation Parliament.
- 1531 Zwingli killed in the battle of Kappel.
- Conquest of Peru by Pizarro.
- 1533—92 Montaigne.
- 1545—63 Council of Trent.
- 1546—1601 Tycho Brahe.
- 1547—1616 Cervantes.
- 1547—59 Henry II (France).
- 1552—99 Edmund Spenser (poet).
- 1559—98 Religious Wars in France.
- 1560—1626 Francis Bacon.
- 1564—1616 Shakespeare.
- 1564—1642 Galileo.
- 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day : Huguenots massacred in France.
- 1588 Spanish Armada routed by the English.
- 1598 Edict of Nantes : toleration granted to Huguenots.

SECTION FOUR

In this section are described all the 'main currents' of modern life. Chapter XXII deals with the contributions of Monarchy to the progress of the world as well as its evils. Chapter XXIII describes how the *Fall of the Old Order* was brought about by breaking *The Spell of Grand Monarchy*. Chapter XXIV contains the story of *The Making of Modern Europe*, particularly in the political field. The culmination of the national and economic developments in *The Expansion of Europe* overseas is dealt with in Chapter XXV ; while the *Awakening of the East* which was the inevitable result of the intrusion of the West is described in Chapter XXVI. The complex resultant of the modern trends in *The World To-day* is the subject of Chapter XXVII ; and some philosophic reflections on the entire historical process, as described in all previous chapters, are contained in Chapter XXVIII which deals with the *Past, Present, and Future*.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE SPELL OF GRAND MONARCHY

It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do ; ... so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king . can do, or say that a King cannot do this or that.

—JAMES I STUART

The religious struggle in Europe which we traced in the last chapter was brought to a close by the Thirty Years' War which terminated with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Though religious intolerance continued in the countries of Europe for a long time after this, the middle of the sixteenth century constituted a turning point in history, since the main interest of people thereafter was centred in matters other than religious.

The unity of Christendom had long been lost : Europe was no longer united either in religion or in politics. Out of the disruption of the Roman Empire, as we have seen, had emerged a new order. At first there was the chaos of the Dark Age. The successors of Charlemagne and Otto the Great having failed to hold Europe together, it was left to the Pope and the Church to provide the only bonds of union possible in the Middle Ages. But with the Renaissance Europe came to be once again divided, and this division was to be permanent. Hence we might truly begin the history of Modern Europe, that is, Europe as we find her to-day, with the close of the Reformation. However, to understand some of its out-

standing features we have very often to refer back ; for *History is continuous*.

One powerful link with the Past is found in the institution of Monarchy. Monarchy is almost as ancient as authentic history. We have witnessed it in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, India, China, Greece, and Rome. The Church and Monarchy contended in Europe for the complete control of the masses all through the medieval times. The Popes were ambitious to wield political no less than religious sovereignty, while the monarchs too sought to command the consciences as well as the secular lives of their subjects. The Reformation brought to the monarchs of Europe a considerable accession of strength, even as the use of gun-powder had placed a powerful weapon in their hands. It was ultimately through their agency, not through the conservative channels of the Church, that Europe emerged out of the medieval into modern times. Though monarchy came to be later discredited it played an important part in helping forward the progress of human civilisation in all countries. In this chapter we shall trace its fortunes and vicissitudes, from its early beginnings to its grand culmination, in England, France, Austria, Spain, Germany, Russia, and India, with a view to assess the nature of its contributions to human history.

England, on account of her insular position, developed faster and outgrew the need of monarchical rule earlier than most other countries. Her earliest king to whom we need refer here was Alfred the Great (871-901 A.D.). His memory is still cherished among the greatest of that country. He is rightly regarded as the creator and saviour of England and figures well in history as well as literature.¹ An inscription

1. Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

on his statue at Wantage beautifully sums up his great qualities and services thus :

' Alfred found learning dead, and restored it. Education neglected, and he revived it. The laws powerless, and he gave them force. The Church debased, and he raised it. The land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from which he delivered it. Alfred's name will live as long as mankind shall repeat the past.'

Next after Alfred the most memorable monarch of England was William the Conqueror (1066-87). Though a Norman, and ruler as much of Normandy as of England (after his victory over Harold at Senlac or Hastings, 1066), he left a permanent mark over English history and institutions. He gave England a strong government, curbed the evils of feudalism by the Salisbury Oath, effected the valuable and interesting Domesday Survey, and, despite the Pope's support to his English invasion, emphatically refused to do homage for his kingdom. Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII) accepted the refusal without much protest as he could not afford to quarrel with all princes at once. His hands were already full with the dispute with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, as we have already seen (pp. 266-68).

Further consolidation of the English monarchy took place under William's great-grandson Henry II (1154-89). Being the son of Count Geoffrey of Anjou,¹ and having married Eleanor of Aquitaine, he became ruler of vast dominions in France as well. His chief achievements were the repression of feudal anarchy and the organisation of order and justice. It was unfortunate that his attempts at centralisation of royal authority should have resulted in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury ; for it postponed the subordination of the Church to secular control which was finally

1. Son-in-law of Henry I (son of William the Conqueror).

achieved only by Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy (1534). Nevertheless, the work of Henry II culminated in making his fifth son, John (1199-1216), so powerful that his tyranny initiated a new trend in English history. Its first fruit was the famous *Magna Carta* (1215), the first of a series of great charters on which the edifice of English liberty rests. Before this was wrung from John by the English barons, the English king was an autocrat unparalleled in his authority in Christendom for six hundred years since Charlemagne. "The *Magna Carta*," says Professor Adams, "closes one epoch of English constitutional history and begins another."¹ The principal interest of British history since the Great Charter lies in the growth of Parliament.² But here we are more concerned with the fortunes of the English monarchy which was to have its fullest development under the Tudors and its decline and fall under their successors.

Edward I (1272-1307) was the next great ruler of England. He has been called "the English Justinian" on account of the great improvements he effected in the laws of England. He set himself to reduce the powers of both the barons and the Church and considerably succeeded in doing it. He also conquered Wales. Simon de Montfort's *Model Parliament* met (1295) during his reign. He laid the foundations of *Lombard Street* by allowing Italian bankers to settle down in London. The craft guilds too prospered under his wise regulation and patronage. But most of his good work was undone by a series of disastrous wars which his ambitions had evoked. The attempt to conquer Scotland led on to

1. G. B. Adams, *The Constitutional History of England*, p. 144.

2. The "expansion of England" geographically is a parallel interest which will be dealt with in a later context.

entanglements with France which, under Edward III (1327-77), resulted in beginning the Hundred Years' War (1338-1453).

We have already alluded to the French possessions of the English kings. Even when these were reduced by the losses suffered by John "Lackland", what remained was still an eye-sore to the French monarchs. Hence they provoked hostilities by helping the Scots. But, even otherwise, Edward III lacked no *casus belli*. He put forward a preposterous claim to the throne of France. Edward was a "Jingo" who, in the words of Mr. Somerwell,¹ "determined to paint as much of the map red as he possibly could;" for, to him, England was "more delightful and more profitable than all other lands." So Crecy and Poitiers were fought, and the centres of civilisation were duly impressed: Petrarch, the Italian humanist, declared, "In my youth, the Britons, whom we call Angles or English, were esteemed the most timid of the barbarians, inferior to the wretched Scots. Now they are the most warlike of peoples. They have overturned the ancient military glory of the French." As all the fighting took place on French soil, the devastation in that country was great and widespread. Again, says Petrarch: "Nothing presented itself to my eyes but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins. Even about Paris there were everywhere signs of fire and destruction. The streets were deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds."

In 1348 the Black Death appeared. It affected France, England, Germany, and parts of Italy. This pestilence not merely carried away nearly one half of the population of England, but also caused great distress among the survivors. The resulting scarcity of labour led to a bitter struggle be-

1. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 31.

tween landlords and workers culminating in the Peasants' Revolt (1381). But the war with France dragged on intermittently. Henry V (1413-22) had less reason but more enthusiasm for its prosecution. He began with the siege of Harfleur and soon won the celebrated victory of Agincourt (1415). "No battle was ever more fatal to France." Other triumphs followed, but it was a short-lived glory. Henry V was succeeded by his only son Henry VI (1422-61). Without the capacity of his father this prince nevertheless pursued his ambitions in France. The most celebrated event of this *dénouement* of the Hundred Years' War was the heroic episode of Joan of Arc, the maid who saved Orleans (1429), and got the Dauphin crowned at Rheims, but was the next year caught by the English and burnt by them as a witch. "We are lost—we have burnt a saint," declared an English soldier who witnessed the burning. He was really prophetic of the fate of the English in France. They were expelled from Normandy in 1450, and three years later from all but Calais.

The Wars of the Roses followed in the wake of the French wars. They were fought between two rival families, the Houses of Lancaster and York, for the throne of England (1455-85). This civil struggle was the "swan song" of feudalism in England. It brought that country under the Grand Monarchy of the Tudors (1485-1603). They ruled despotically and yet retained their popularity. For want of space we must treat of the epoch as a whole and not the rulers individually. It was a glorious age both for England and the rest of Europe, though "other men laboured, and the English entered into their labours."

Henry VII, founder of the family, restored order at home, forged dynastic links with other ruling families, and negotiated commercial treaties. Henry VIII, the much married

monarch, plundered monasteries for the spiritual health of England, made England independent of Rome without tampering with its doctrines, and tried to hold the "balance of power" in Europe in his own favour. In the next two reigns—of Edward VI and Mary—England violently swung between Geneva and Rome and lit 'such candles as should never be easily put out,' until she got inebriated with the glory of the good Queen Bess.

Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

Though Calais, the last foothold of England in France, had been lost by Mary, Elizabeth more than restored English prestige among continental powers by winning the "English Salamis"—i.e. the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588). It was 'both a victory for Protestantism in Europe, and a sign that the mastery of the seas was passing from the Mediterranean to the northern peoples.' "Yet," observes Professor Flenley, "the spirit of the Elizabethan age is to be found not only in the daring exploits of its sea-dogs, or in the charm of the Elizabethan manor-houses whose appearance testified to the growth of wealth and comfort, but also in the music of the Elizabethan madrigal composers, and, above all, in Elizabethan poetry and prose."¹ It was the age of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon. We must now turn to the Grand Monarchy on the continent of Europe. But here we can touch only the peak-points in the dynastic histories of the various countries. Nor should more be necessary for illustrating this well-known phenomenon.

French history, as distinct from that of the Western Franks, began only with the accession of Hugh Capet (968 A.D.)

1. *World History*, p. 446.

whose dynasty continued to rule France until it was replaced by the House of Valois in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Even during that period the Capetians shared their dominion with the English, as the Angevin Empire in France lasted from 1154-1204. Besides, the country was rent by feudal strife until the accession of Louis VI (1108-37), the fifth monarch of the line, who at least partially got the situation in hand. Henry II of England had possessed more of French territory than the French monarch, but under John (of England) and Philippe II (of France) the position was completely changed. England lost all except Guienne and the Channel Islands ; and, in 1216, Louis, the son of Philippe, landed on English soil by invitation of the English barons, to displace John. Philippe (1180-1223) was the main founder of the French monarchy.

In keeping with the trend of the times, Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France (1226-70) sounded the first signal of revolt against the Papacy, though he himself, after a vigorous reign, died at Carthage while on a Crusade (the 7th). He left the French monarchy on a new and independent basis. The tendency reached its climax under Philippe IV who, in 1301, refused to admit the Pope's claim to temporal authority. He went to the extent of burning the Papal Bull and even seizing the person of the Pope himself. Then commenced the famous "Babylonish Captivity" (1378-1417) already referred to in the previous chapter.

The Hundred Years' War with England began under the House of Valois. Its results have already been commented upon. France gradually recovered while England was plunged in the Wars of the Roses. "The strong and subtle reign of Louis XI (1461-1488) settled much of the internal difficulty with the unruly dukes, especially the proud Duke of Burgundy, and France was presently able to look towards

the East. Under his successor, Charles VIII, began the 'Italian Wars' (1494-1559) of France with the Hapsburgs, who had meantime succeeded to the imperial throne."¹

We have before referred to the rise of Calvinism, the persecution of the French Huguenots, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. These events took place during the regime of the House of Valois-Orleans (1498-1589). The accession of the Bourbon Henry of Navarre brought some relief to the persecuted Protestants of France by the Edict of Nantes (1598), though his Catholic subjects obliged him to consider that 'Paris was worth a Mass.' Henry IV ruled wisely and well from 1589 to 1610 under the advice of his worthy minister Sully. Sully set to work to re-establish the kingly power, which had suffered greatly under the last three rulers of the Valois family. He reduced the great burden of debt which had weighed upon the country, laid out new roads and canals, and encouraged agriculture. He also applied himself to the task of dismissing useless noblemen and officers who were mere parasites. But this, combined with religious fanaticism, brought about his assassination in 1610.

Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most famous ministers of France, carried on the administration (1624-42) for Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, during the momentous years of the Thirty Years' War. He did more than anybody else to rouse the national ambitions of his country and set France on the ruinous policy of self-aggrandisement. He declared war against Catholic Spain in 1635, after having formed a formidable alliance with the chief enemies of the House of Austria who were all heretical Protestants. But France gained the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine as a result of this policy, though their acquisition meant the sowing of the

1. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire*, pp. 122-3.

Dragon's teeth. "The military exploits of the French generals, especially Turenne and Condé, during the opening years of Louis XIV (1643-1715), showed that a new period had begun in which the military and political supremacy of Spain was to give way to that of France."¹

Louis XIV was, indeed, the proto-type of Grand Monarchy. He supplied the model which was copied by all later rulers, each according to his genius and capacity. Cardinal Mazarin served his early years (to 1661) even as Richelieu did under his predecessor. Every circumstance, whether internal or external, was made to serve the interests of the Grand Monarchy. At home the power of the nobility was broken down, and France came out of the Thirty Years' War in Europe with enlarged territories and increased importance. When Louis XIV came of age he carried forward the work so well begun by his great minister. 'By his incessant wars he kept Europe in turmoil for over half a century. The distinguished generals who led his newly organised troops, and the wily diplomats who arranged his alliances and negotiated his treaties, made France feared and respected by even the most powerful of the other European states.' He successfully followed the doctrine of kingship which his Stuart contemporaries pompously set forth at their peril. *La etat c'est moi* (I am the State), though attributed to Louis XIV without sufficient historical basis, truly represents his actual faith. His prevailing occupation, in the words of Mr. H. G. Wells, was *splendour*. He built a new palace-city for himself at Versailles where developed all the luxurious arts.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more

1. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate."

Louis XIV also decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men. Boileau laid down the canons of style; Corneille gave French drama its rhetorical and classical form; and Racine, its final perfection and polish. The popular Molière (1622-73) wrote his incomparable comedies, and La Fontaine his simple and satirical fables on the foibles of society. Voltaire called the age of Louis XIV "the most enlightened age the world has ever seen"; it gave to French culture a stamp and prestige which were to survive the loss of French political ascendancy, and even the downfall of Grand Monarchy itself.

But there was also another side to this picture. Louis XIV revived religious intolerance in France by his revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Great numbers of his most sober and industrious subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. "Under his rule," writes Mr. Wells, "were carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire." The worst legacy of Louis XIV was, however, a legacy of wars: ruinous to France and ruinous to Europe and the world, though immediately it looked like success.

His reign opened with the French acquisition of Alsace, as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which ended the Thirty Years' War. It tempted him to more ambitious endeavours. Though these raised against him formidable

combinations like the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, Louis was not deterred. He seized Franche Comté, Strassburg, and Luxemburg. His religious policy raised against him the League of Augsburg, and the War for the Palatinate ended in the Peace of Ryswick (1697) by which he was obliged to acknowledge the Protestant succession (1688) in England, and to restore Spain and Austria many of his recent gains. His last war was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) in which he had to fight the Grand Alliance formed by Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy. It ended with the Peace of Utrecht, which though it left a Bourbon candidate (Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV) on the throne of Spain, marked also the humiliation of France on every other side. "The Peace of Utrecht, like that of Westphalia, marks a phase not merely in the imperial rivalry of Austria and France, but in the history of Europe as a whole."

The histories of Spain, Austria and Germany are linked up together on account of their rulers. As yet nations as we know them to-day had not appeared, and the fortunes of countries were determined by their ruling dynasties. Dynastic wars, dynastic alliances, and dynastic marriages settled the fates of peoples before the rise of national states and democracies. Hence the importance of the Bourbons, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, etc. We must, therefore, now speak of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern families, having written something already about the Bourbons.

The real founder of Hapsburg greatness was the Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1514) of Austria. By inheritance, marriage, and conquest, he extended his dominions so much that his grandson Charles V (1519-56) owned territories in Austria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, besides the overseas possessions of Spain. Charles V

was the contemporary of Henry VIII of England and of Francis I of France. From Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain he inherited Spain and their overseas dominions in 1516 ; from Maximilian he got Austria and all the imperial dominions in 1519, though for these latter he had to vastly outbid his rival Francis I of France. For the Imperial throne was subject to election and the candidates had to expend millions in order to purchase the votes. Then a contest ensued between Francis and Charles for certain possessions in which Henry VIII astutely tried to hold the balance. In 1544 all the three disappointed men retired from the struggle having squandered away the resources of their respective countries.

After the death of Charles V the Hapsburg line was divided into two branches : the Spanish branch continued to rule until 1700 when, as we saw, a grandson of Louis XIV (Bourbon) succeeded to the Spanish throne ; and the Austrian branch held the Imperial sceptre until its extinction in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. Already the so-called Holy Roman Empire had ceased to be either Holy, Roman, or Empire. Only a few notable events in the history of the two Hapsburg branches may be recorded here.

It was under Philip II of Spain (Charles V's successor) that the Armada was defeated by the English. It was under the same Philip II also that the Dutch were exasperated with the religious persecutions of the Inquisition and compelled to break off into a republic under the leadership of their heroic Stadtholder, William the Silent, Prince of Orange (1533-84). Though he was assassinated before the struggle ended, he was the real founder of the Dutch Republic. King William of Orange, who was called to the throne of England in 1688, was his great-great-grandson.

In the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs the last of the great rulers were the famous Maria Theresa (1740-65) and

her son Joseph II (1765-1809). Under the former the Austrian dominions included Austria, Moravia, Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, Belgium, and Milan. Though Frederick of Prussia presently seized Silesia, Maria Theresa had compensation in the acquisition of a part of Poland. Her son, Joseph II, was ambitious to build up a homogeneous state out of the welter of nationalities (Slav, Magyar, German, Italian, and Flemish) on the basis of his enlightened despotism. At the commencement of his reign he declared, "I have made Philosophy the legislator of my Empire. Her logical principles shall transform Austria." But in spite of his earnestness he died a disappointed monarch, proposing for his tomb in Vienna the unenviable epitaph: '*Here lies Joseph who failed in all that he attempted.*' He failed because he was an idealist far in advance of his country. The more realistic rulers of Russia and Prussia were more fortunate than Joseph II.

Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725) and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) were both Enlightened Despots like Joseph II of Austria. All of them tried to aggrandise their countries, as well as their dynasties, after the fashion of Louis XIV of France. In doing so they laid the foundations of their national greatness and menace, which we shall follow up in a later chapter. But before we close our survey of Grand Monarchy we must have a glimpse of its Asiatic replica, *viz.* the Mughal Empire in India.

This Empire, as readers know, was founded by Babur (a descendant of Timur and Chengiz Khan) as the result of his great victory at Panipat (1526) over Ibrahim Lodi, ruler of Delhi. Babur's descendants occupied the throne of Delhi until the great Mutiny in 1857. But their rule was effective over the greater part of India only till the death of Bahadur Shah I (1712). Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah were con-

temporaries of Louis XIV, even as the earlier Mughal Emperors were the contemporaries of the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns of England. Akbar died two years after Queen Elizabeth (1605). The Mughal Grand Monarchy was, however, at its best only from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1557-1707), a period of hundred and fifty years. But that was a period which does not compare ill with the splendours of the Grand Monarchy in Europe. In some respects it was certainly more enlightened than its European contemporaries. We do not find Akbar's religious toleration paralleled anywhere in the Europe of his days, nor his zeal for social reform until long after. Jehangir tried to abolish drink and Akbar *sati*, while, for the most part, all the Mughals tried to follow the statesmanlike ideals laid down by Sher Shah, the great Afghan administrator, who laid the foundations of the system which was improved upon by his Mughal successors: 'justice', declared Sher Shah, 'is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.' He also realised that 'the cultivators are the source of prosperity,' and that 'if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.' In the field of architecture and art the Mughals achieved marvels which are appreciated by all even to this day. As I have said elsewhere, 'The Empire of the Mughals has vanished forever, but their personality endures in a thousand forms, visible and invisible. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting, and architecture the impress of the Mughal is ever present.'¹

The Mughals, of course, shared in the autocracy and vices of the Grand Monarchy of Europe no less than its splendours. But as the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes wrote: "Yet they

1. S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, p. 866.

were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpur-Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning some peccant members of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century ; ' Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality ! ' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."¹

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

FALL OF THE OLD ORDER

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways.

—TENNYSON

The "Divine Right" on which the Grand Monarchy was based had become so debased that it proved to be a right (claim) to exploit the people for the selfish autocracy and luxuries of the kings. But this claim could not be sustained for long in the wake of the progress that mankind was making. Just as the autocracy and corruption of the Church had given rise to the Reformation in religious matters, so also in the political field there was soon to be a *re-formation*. The divine right of kings was to give place to the 'Divine Right of Peoples': *vox populi vox Dei*, 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' was to be the new slogan. We shall give in this chapter a few outstanding examples of how the Old Order changed, yielding place to New, and see how God fulfilled Himself in many ways in the Netherlands, in England, in France, and in India.

The Netherlands (Holland) had formed part of the Empire of Charles V, as we have noted before. In the religious struggles of the Reformation period the people of that country enacted some of the most heroic episodes in all human history. Their resistance to Charles V and his successor Philips II of Spain was due both to religious and national feelings. "No two peoples could have been more

opposite in character," observes one writer, "Spain quite behind the age, bigoted, superstitious, violently Catholic, cruel and aristocratic; and the Netherlands, full of life and activity, the rival of Italy in art and learning, ready to go ahead and adopt all the advanced and enlightened thought of the Reformation. In trade they had no rivals, for they were the busiest manufacturers in the world. Their stuffs were celebrated everywhere, and their ships visited all the ports in the world. This happy, brave little people were to be crushed and persecuted for their valour."¹ It is well to point out here that, although it was a people's struggle for liberty (religious and political) on the part the Dutch, it was not the tyranny of the Spanish *people* so much as of the Spanish *Monarchy*. The heterogeneous composition of the Hapsburg dominions showed that their only bond of union was the common yoke of submission to a foreign dynasty. National, religious, and democratic liberty were all involved in the Dutch war of independence. At the end of their heroic struggle, despite the Inquisition, the Council of Blood, and all other inhumanities of the Spanish Fury (all alike characteristic of the Old Order), the *people* of the Netherlands achieved both their religious and political independence (characteristics of the New Age) when, in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which closed the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch Republic was recognised. This was the first triumph of the new forces in human history against the *ancient régime*.

By a curious coincidence, at the same time, the English people also overthrew the Stuart autocracy in which the Tudor Grand Monarchy had culminated. This was again an happening in human history of the utmost importance. It was equally significant of the new trend in human civi-

1. A. and D. Ponsonby, *Rebels and Reformers*, p. 47.

lisation and progress. The future was to belong to peoples rather than to princes.

Greenidge has said that the soul of Greek history is its constitutionalism. The same may be asserted about England of all modern countries. As the Reformation movement culminated in the Netherlands in the political liberation of its people, so too in England it was to get merged in its constitutional struggle. This last was England's supreme gift to the world. "While Germany boasts her Reformation and France her Revolution," says Trevelyan, "England can point to her dealings with the House of Stuart....During the seventeenth century a despotic scheme of society and government was so firmly established in Europe, that but for the course of events in England it would have been the sole successor of the medieval system."¹ But the reader will do well to remember that the movement for constitutional liberty had its beginnings very early in English history. What the Stuart century revealed was only the critical stage in a long process. The end came very much later.

We have earlier referred to the Magna Carta (1215) which may be considered as the first great landmark, though it has always ranked as the sheet-anchor of English liberty. Other charters which followed in succeeding centuries only sought to secure and extend what had already been laid down in that basic document. The barons who fought against King John for their feudal rights and privileges were really the unconscious parents of the English parliamentary system. The committee they set up to safeguard those rights and privileges developed into the "Mother of Parliaments." The two great ages in the growth of Parliamentary power, says

1. G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, p. 1.

Professor Adams, are the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries. But since the work of the earlier centuries was interrupted by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor despotism, we might as well speak here only of the constitutional achievements of the Stuart and succeeding periods.

The Grand Monarchy of the Tudors was tolerated because it served national ends. Had the Stuarts been equally capable and patriotic the struggle might have been postponed. Or if they had been content merely to reign, and not ambitious to rule despotically by "divine right," they would not have precipitated a crisis. But they had neither tact nor patience. They interfered alike with civil and religious liberty. Meanwhile the nation—particularly the middle classes—had become prosperous enough to get restive and intolerant. As Macaulay has said, "During two hundred years all the sovereigns who had ruled England, with the single exception of the unfortunate Henry VI, had been strong-minded, high-spirited, courageous, and of princely bearing. Almost all had possessed abilities above the ordinary level. It was no light thing that, on the very eve of the decisive struggle between our Kings and their Parliaments, royalty should be exhibited to the world stammering, slobbering, shedding unmanly tears, trembling at a drawn sword, and talking in the style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue."

James I nevertheless insisted: 'As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a King may do. I will not be content that my power be disputed on.' So he and his son Charles I levied taxes, appointed and dismissed ministers, followed policies, and summoned or dissolved Parliaments, as it suited their arbitrary wills. When their needs compelled them to go to Parliament for grants of money, the latter bargained for their

rights and liberties which had been trampled upon by their reckless sovereigns. But Charles I, prophetically anticipating what submission to Parliamentary dictation would ultimately end in, declared : ' These being passed, we may be waited on bareheaded, the style of Majesty continued to us, and the King's authority declared by both Houses of Parliament may still be the style of your command, but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King.' Hence, to cut a long story short, he preferred the scaffold to the fate of the House of Windsor. Charles I was executed in 1649 as the climax of Civil War, and England became a republic.

But this proved more a triumph of the Puritan army than a victory for the constitutional and religious liberty of the English people. It directly and immediately resulted in the tyranny of Cromwell (1649-58) which, despite Carlyle's rhapsodies, fastened upon England and Ireland a more insupportable autocracy than that of the Stuarts. His very large standing army and excellent navy, both based on taxation which absolute rule alone could levy, and which rival nations lacked, gave Cromwell and the English power (as Mr. Hilaire Belloc has pointed out)¹ an unrivalled position in Europe. He humiliated Holland, crushed and nettled Ireland and tried to convert England into a vast monastery. The result was that, no sooner than he was dead, England cried "Never again!" In the words of Mr. Somervell, "Cromwell was relegated with Guy Fawkes to the historical Chamber of Horrors, only to be rescued by Carlyle and the Victorian historians."

After the Commonwealth experiment England reverted again to monarchy. The futility of the restored Stuart

1. *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 4.

régime (of Charles II and James II), however, showed that the English monarchy could not be its old self any longer. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 which enthroned the Dutch William III on the Bill of Rights transferred sovereignty from the Crown to the Whig oligarchy. "The new monarch and his successors, since they owed their throne to an Act of Parliament, were clearly devoid of any Divine Right to do what Parliament chose to consider wrong. Yet even so, it may be doubted (says Somervell) if our extraordinary system, whereby kings reign but do not govern, would have established itself if the crown had not been worn in succession by a Dutchman, a woman, two Germans, a king who went mad, a worn-out debauchee, an eccentric, and another woman."¹

The later history of England belongs to another chapter. Here we must refer only to one more landmark in the transition from the Old to the New. George III (1760-1820) was the Hereward the Wake of the Grand Monarchy. The last hopes of the *ancient régime* were extinguished when George III was made to realise that he could not "be a King"; that he could only *reign*, but not *rule*. The close of the eighteenth century in England demonstrated not only that the King could not carry on merely depending on his "friends," but also that no country could rule another against its will.

The climacteric of the Grand Monarchy in Europe was, however, the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789). In its flames was extinguished the Old Order, not merely in France but in most countries of Europe; not merely in the political field but in almost all departments of life. Despite Edmund Burke's declamation against it, the French

1. D. C. Somervell, *A History of England*, p. 50.

Revolution proved the harbinger of a new and better order in the world. '*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*,' still reverberates among many countries and peoples because of its flaming example. Let us see how it came about.

The fall of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 is usually taken as the beginning of the French Revolution. On that day an infuriated Parisian mob attacked the Bastille—the Central Prison—wherein were incarcerated political offenders no less than ordinary criminals. After a violent and dramatic scene the prisoners were liberated as indiscriminately as they had been arbitrarily locked in. This outburst would not have gained its great reputation in history, but for its being the symptom of deeper causes. France had long been suffering from insupportable social and political burdens under the Grand Monarchy. The nation had been divided into two unequal classes: the rulers and the ruled; the former, a microscopic minority of hereditary nobles with the King as their patron; and the latter, the vast masses who groaned under the weight of tyranny. All power and wealth were concentrated in the hands of the upper few; and the subject classes had only taxation and miserable service for their lot. All high offices, both civil and military, were the monopoly of the *noblesse* who were free from taxation. The poor people, mostly peasants, manned the armies, paid taxes, and rendered compulsory service of a feudal character. Louis XV (1715-74), who succeeded Louis XIV, was a worse man and a worse monarch than his great-grandfather. But all the same, he indulged in all the reckless dreams and adventures of his more capable predecessor. His luxuries, vices, and wars dug deeper the grave of the Grand Monarchy, while the pampered and corrupted nobility, equally purblind, abetted in all the doings of their wicked patron who helplessly but prophetically declared, "*After me the deluge!*"

The deluge came inevitably under the next ruler, the unfortunate Louis XVI (1774-92), who had to pay for the sins of his predecessors with his own life. In this he was most unlike Charles I of England who under similar circumstances had died on the scaffold. Charles Stuart was a sturdy believer in the Divine Right of Kings ; Louis Capet was a well-meaning but will-less victim of circumstances. Charles was a martyr ; Louis was a scapegoat. But both stood athwart the current of a nation's public interest, and both were overwhelmed. Up till then monarchs had victimised nations ; thereafter nations were to victimise monarchs. The fall of the Bastille was, therefore, only a symbolic episode like Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money or the American gesture of throwing away packets of British-borne tea into Boston harbour. Once the turbulent stream burst through its dam, it followed its own course in a hundred different channels.

The root cause of the Revolution, according to Napoleon, was Vanity ; but this word must be understood to comprehend all the sins of Grand Monarchy. Their net result was national bankruptcy ; that is to say, the ruin of public finance. All who stood for the Old Order (King and *noblesse*) desperately sought remedies in fresh schemes of taxation of an already over-taxed people. They had been exploited to the limit of impossibility. "To raise more revenue by taxation," observes Professor Alison Phillips, "was impossible so long as the privileged orders remained exempt ; and successive controllers-general of the finances were driven to the ruinous expedient of borrowing in order to cover the ordinary expenses of the State. Those who, like Turgot, tried to cure the evil at its source were broken by Court intrigues ; Turgot fell in 1776, after scarce two years in office ; Necker, the Swiss banker, whose supposed finan-

cial genius it was hoped would save the State, resigned in 1781 without having been able to remedy the evils which he recognized. When his successors, Calonne and Loménie de Brienne, resorted to desperate measures to raise money, they were met by the obstruction of the Parlement, which reached the zenith of its popularity when, in 1788, it refused to register royal decrees imposing new stamp duties on the ground that the right to agree to taxation belonged to the States-General alone."¹

That body, which corresponded to the British Parliament, had not been summoned by the Grand Monarchy for one hundred and seventy-five years. But now it was realised that the general state of the country could not be improved without the States-General or the Estates-General. So it was re-called to Versailles in 1789 with fateful consequences. Under the leadership of Mirabeau it declared itself to be the National Assembly, and drew up the Constitution of 1791. It sought to establish a unicameral legislature with wide powers over every branch of administration. Much under the influence of the English example, since the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it wanted to retain the hereditary monarchy, but make it constitutional. The *bourgeois* constitutionalists of France, like the English Whigs of a century earlier, distrusted the masses, and limited the franchise to those who paid a tax which should be equal to at least three days' wages. This excluded almost half of the citizens,—some of them peasants but most of them artisans.

The National Assembly also drew up a "Declaration of the Rights of Man" like the English Bill of Rights and the first ten amendments of the American constitution. It was a

1. *The French Revolution*, p. 7.

memorable document clearly laying down the principles of the French Revolution. According to it—

‘All persons shall be equally eligible to all dignities, public positions, and occupations, according to their abilities. No person shall be arrested or imprisoned except according to law. Anyone accused of wrongdoing shall be presumed innocent until he is adjudged guilty. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, including his religious views, subject only to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. No one shall be deprived of his property, except for public purposes, and then only after indemnification.’

But, as in all countries, the Radicals were not satisfied. The monarch also miserably blundered in dealing with awkward situations which were bound to arise under such circumstances. The Queen, Marie Antoinette (imperious daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria), by her feminine foibles and utter lack of imagination, alienated the sympathies of her subjects. An appeal to the other monarchs of Europe (Austria and Prussia) to save the Bourbon monarchy only exasperated the French people by wounding their national susceptibilities. The September Massacres, the execution of the King and Queen (1792), the Reign of Terror (1793-94) the Committee of Public Safety which made everybody's life unsafe, the Directory, and finally Napoleon, all followed as a matter of course. Meanwhile, the intoxicated French people, by challenging all established powers and princes in Europe had raised a hornet's nest about their ears. In order to meet this embarrassing situation they submitted to the yoke of Napoleon Bonaparte (1797-1815) who led them to ultimate disaster through a series of brilliant triumphs. But the Napoleonic Wars and the Vienna Settlement belong to another phase of human history, viz. the making of Modern Europe. Though Napoleon rose to his Imperial throne on the votes

of the people of France, he threatened to re-establish Grand Monarchy. He created a new nobility of service, dependent and loyal ; he suppressed public opinion by secret police, arrests and arbitrary confinements ; journals and newspapers were censored and regulated ; even the schools and churches were converted into pillars of the new despotism which was no better than that of Louis XIV, though it was also no worse.

Under Napoleon France got a strong and centralised government, consolidated the work of the Revolution, codified her laws (the *Code Napoleon*), secured social equality, and trial by jury, a national Church, the Bank of France, and great buildings, roads, canals, etc. But the "successor of Charlemagne" and the Bourbons also created a Legion of Honour, carried the Roman eagles on his military standards, and dreamed of universal sovereignty. "Supreme in France, he would also be supreme in Europe. No lasting peace was possible with such a man, unless the European nations submitted to his will. They would not submit, and as a result the Continent for more than a decade was drenched with blood."¹

However, the Revolution in France had not been in vain. Its principles and spirit pervaded the whole of Europe and still permeate the modern World. Immediately it affected the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Everywhere during the nineteenth century and after it stimulated demand for the abolition of the established privileges of birth, wealth and other characteristics of the *ancient régime*. "The history of the nineteenth century," as Mr. Davies writes, "is one of gradual but very definite advance towards the sovereignty of the people, and a great deal of the progress which

1. Webster, *History of Mankind*, pp. 485-6.

has been made can be traced directly or indirectly to the influence of the French Revolution."¹

The Grand Monarchy was represented in India, as noticed in the last chapter, by the Mughal Emperors. Their best contributions to Indian civilisation were made during the century from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1557-1657). With the accession of the latter monarch there was already a turn in the tide. His reign of half-a-century was marked by a strong sectarian reactionarism, which was the beginning of the decline. It provoked far-reaching and equally powerful reactions in the Hindu community. Particularly under the gifted leadership of the Great Shivaji (1646-80), the Marathas—a community of peaceful peasants—were organised into an army of intrepid warriors, even as the Sikh Guru Govind Singh (1676-1708) converted (to use his own significant expression) 'jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' Just as the political or constitutional opposition to the Stuart régime in England and the national revolt of the Dutch against Spanish domination in Europe during the same century (1648) had been reinforced by religious antagonism, so in India the religious opposition roused by Aurangzeb culminated in a national revolt against the Mughal dynasty. Even the Rajputs who had initially borne the brunt of the Muslim advance into India in the earlier centuries had been cajoled by the liberal policy of Akbar; but they were once again provoked into hostility by Aurangzeb, under the heroic leadership of Durgadas and Ajit Singh (1679-1707). Finally, this politico-religious war of the Hindus against the Muslim conquerors of India terminated in the overthrow of the Mughal Grand Monarchy which had, since the death of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah I (1712),

1. H. A. Davies, *An Outline History of the World*, p. 445.

fallen on evil days. Fratricidal wars of succession, rebellions by insubordinate governors, enervating luxuries and vices, and frequent attacks by external enemies like Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Marathas, and the English, all combined to destroy their *ancient régime*. On the other hand, the English who had successfully outrivalled the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, opened a new chapter in Indian history when they established themselves firmly in Bengal after their victories at Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764). Indeed, the prophecy attributed to the Sikh Guru Tegh Bahadur was being fulfilled : when he was charged by Aurangzeb with peering into the imperial seraglio from his prison-cell in Delhi, the prophetic Sikh Guru is said to have declared : "I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from behind the seas to tear down thy hangings and destroy thy empire." Whether this story is true or false, the fall of the Old Order in India was to be brought about by the Europeans.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE MAKING OF MODERN EUROPE

The French Revolution with its attendant wars which culminated in the Treaties of Vienna, marked the founding of a New Europe conspicuously different from that which had preceded it.—F. J. C. HEARNshaw

Modern Europe is the product of several historical processes : religious, political, and economic. In religion we have already described the division of Europe into Catholic and Protestant, apart from the Eastern (Greek) and Western (Roman) branches of the former, and the Lutheran, Calvinist and Zwinglian divisions of the latter. Broadly speaking, the religious struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation forces—on a European scale—reached its climax in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) of which the main theatre was Central Europe. It began as a small dispute over the accession of a Spanish Roman Catholic prince to the throne of Bohemia (present Czecho-Slovakia), but soon developed into a European war in which several countries were involved. The political issue was eclipsed by religious differences, in which, Catholic Spain and Austria (united under the Hapsburgs) had to fight the Protestant combination of North Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England. France, though Catholic, joined the latter group for political reasons : she hated the Hapsburgs and wanted to extend her national boundaries to the Rhine if

possible. The great leader of the 'Catholic League' was the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-37), and of the 'Protestant Union' Frederick the Elector Palatine (son-in-law of James I of England). Owing to the skilful diplomacy of the French minister Cardinal Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden)—the greatest general of the age—assumed command of the Protestant forces, and won the "crowning mercy" of the struggle at the battle of Lützen (near Leipzig) in 1632, against Wallenstein the Catholic commander. Gustavus, however, died a heroic death in the hour of victory: being surrounded by the enemy who ultimately killed him, he declared, "I am King of Sweden, who do seal the religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood." Though the struggle continued after this, until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and Germany was ravaged by hostile forces, the Thirty Years' War closed with the assurance of religious and political liberty to the Protestant States of North Germany; the Catholic States of the South ranged themselves under Austria; the Bourbons of France scored a fateful ascendancy over the Hapsburgs by securing Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and Sweden was rewarded with certain posts on the Baltic. "Austria, crippled in property, prestige and power, was left faced by an implacable enemy from without—France; and by the growing ambition of an enemy within—Prussia." The Holy Roman Empire—in its Hapsburg *avatar*—was both spiritually and temporally 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within the Austrian border but for its hold on Italy. The future lay with France and Prussia.

The national ascendancy of France began under Louis XIV and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. From the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to the Vienna Settlement (1815) the menace of France was ever present in European

politics. It was a century marked also by the rivalry with the English. The net result for France of Louis XIV's aggressive policy, as we have seen, was the acquisition of Alsace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1648 ; Franche Comte, Strassburg, and Luxemburg in 1684 ; and the placing of his grandson (Philip V) on the throne of Spain in 1700. This last event led to the formation of the Grand Alliance between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Portugal, and Savoy against France and Spain, resulting in the Duke of Marlborough's great series of victories : Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet (reviving the glories of Agincourt, Crecy, and Poitou of the Hundred Years' War). It was during this Spanish Succession War (1700-13) also that England gained Gibraltar and Minorca, two important strategic possessions marking her hegemony in the Mediterranean.

Though the French menace to the peace of Europe appeared to have abated a little after this, it continued to be active elsewhere. England and France were both engaged in a great duel already in India in the East and America in the West. Consequently, when the next occasion arose in the continent of Europe, on account of another Succession War (the Austrian) and its sequel the Seven Years' War, the issues were fought out on three continents : Europe, Asia, and America. In the memorable words of Voltaire, "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and Asia."

The Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI died in 1740 without a male heir to succeed him. Though he had taken care to secure before his death the consent (by the *Pragmatic Sanction*) of most of the rulers of Europe for bestowing the Austrian throne on his daughter Maria Theresa, when he died, Frederick II of Prussia (about whom more later) tried to undermine the position of the young Empress by

making a wanton attack on her dominions (Silesia). France, having already ousted the Hapsburgs from Spain, allied herself with Frederick, hoping thereby to make further encroachments on the Austrian dominions. But, for all her national ambitions, she only earned the enmity of England (who had joined Austria together with Holland) without being able to win from her selfish ally, Prussia, any reward in the shape of territory. The war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. "The real gainer by the war of the Pragmatic Sanction," as Macaulay has said, "had been neither France nor Austria, but the upstart of Brandenburg. France had made great efforts, had added largely to her military glory, and largely to her public burdens; and another had purchased, with floods of the noblest blood, the barren glory of Fontenoy." The result of this disappointment was the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756 brought about by the astute diplomacy of the Austrian minister Count Kaunitz: England and France exchanged sides, and began the more decisive combat known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

Frederick, who had become "the Great" by the seizure of Silesia, was allowed to retain his ill-gotten gains by the iniquitous Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was forced upon helpless Austria by the selfish hurry of England and France to get out of their thankless alliances. But the proud daughter of the Cæsars, Maria Theresa, was far from reconciling herself to her loss. Moreover, both England and France on account of their commercial and colonial rivalries, were yet to compose their national quarrels. Hence the eight years of 'restless peace' (1748-56) soon burst into the blood-stained years of the Seven Years' War. The original issue about Silesia between the principals (Austria and Prussia) was drowned in the larger issues of the allies (England

and France). An unofficial struggle had continued in the meanwhile in India and America between the two latter powers. The official war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris which declared once for all the supremacy of the British, both in India and America, over their French rivals. Clive had already frustrated the designs of Dupleix at Arcot in India in 1751 ; in 1760 again Colonel Coote defeated the French at Wandewash ; and in the fateful year of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) the crowning glory of the English triumph was marked by the capture of Pondicherry. In America the English won Canada on the "Heights of Abraham," when the heroic Wolfe laid down his life while capturing Quebec (1759). The Peace of Paris which clinched the duel between England and France was the first great triumph of the Anglo-Saxons. Its next phase was revealed in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic struggle.

France sought to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War by helping the American Colonies at a critical stage of their revolt (1775-83) against the tyranny of George III's government. But this only reacted upon herself in a double manner : it increased her national debt on the one hand, and on the other, precipitated her Revolution by the inspiration of U. S. A.'s successful example. In the course of that Revolution itself she further tried to take revenge on both Austria and Prussia for being abettors of the *ancient régime*. Though immediately successful, France had to pay for it heavily after her defeat at Waterloo (1815)

The French Revolution in the beginning had evoked sympathy and even enthusiasm in some quarters, such as Wordsworth felt when he wrote :

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

But the excesses of the extremists, culminating in the Reign

of Terror, brought about a complete revulsion of feeling. The Emperor Leopold of Austria had issued a manifesto as early as 1790 inviting all civilised nations to unite against the common danger. Two years later Austria and Prussia formed an alliance which was before long to develop into the biggest coalition ever formed in Europe against a single nation. Yet the revolutionary fervour was so great that the French won striking victories (Valmy and Jemappes) which brought the southern part of the Netherlands under their sway. In 1793 was formed the First Coalition between Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and the Papal States; though by 1796 Austria and England were left alone to carry on the war.

Napoleon made his mark at Toulon in 1795; he was one of the Consuls in 1799; Consul for life in 1802; and Emperor in 1804. From 1796-1807 was the period of Napoleon's rise, when his energies were concentrated against Austria. During the next five years (1807-12) he was apparently at the height of his power, when his main objective was to fight Britain; for this were passed the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System organised.¹ The remaining years before he was sent to St. Helena (1812-15) formed the period of his fall. We have no space here for even a rapid sketch of his meteoric career. Moreover, since his entire reordering of the map of Europe was to be washed off by the Vienna Settlement in 1815, we might content ourselves with noting the reactions that followed his overthrow.

Napoleon, "the child of the Revolution," had also made himself the father of an Imperial system wherein 'republics'

1. The purpose of these was to exclude Britain from all intercourse with the continent of Europe.

and princedoms were subjected to the common foreign yoke which at once ignored and evoked national consciousness and the democratic spirit of self-determination. But before we trace the history of these two 'main currents' of nineteenth century European life, it is necessary to look at the earlier growth of at least two other countries, viz. Prussia and Russia.

Germany, as we know her to-day, is a product of the nineteenth century. Even at the time of the Vienna Congress (1814-15) that country was a congeries of over three hundred and fifty kingdoms and principalities, of which Prussia was undoubtedly the most pre-eminent. On that historic occasion their number was reduced to thirty-nine states (by combining small states together) and they were given a formal unity under a Confederation with a common Diet (Parliament) at Frankfort. The real consolidation of Germany was brought about by the ruling House of Hohenzollern whose family history reached back to the twelfth century. Frederick the Great, mentioned earlier in this chapter, belonged to this family which particularly came into prominence after the Thirty Years' War, under Frederick William, known as the Great Elector (1640-88). He was only the Duke of Brandenburg (subject to the King of Poland) to begin with; but through war and diplomacy he considerably increased the possessions and prestige of his House, the greatest of his acquisitions being Prussia. By internal reforms such as improvement of taxation, communications, irrigation, encouragement of education, industry and agriculture, etc. he enhanced the importance of Brandenburg-Prussia in all Germany (which also contained other States like Bavaria and Saxony). His successor, Frederick II (1688-1713), earned the title of "King" from the Emperor Leopold I of Austria. His

son, Frederick William I (1713-40), was the father of Frederick the Great (1740-86). These two Fredericks are indeed one of the most interesting pair of rulers in all history. No two princes were more unlike in their characters than these, father and son; and yet, both alike eminently succeeded in making Prussia and the Hohenzollerns respected, feared, and hated, at first in Germany and then in all Europe. Frederick William, by his parsimony and careful administration earned for himself the reputation of being "the greatest internal king of Prussia." At the same time he was one of the most quixotic of all monarchs. He had a miserly love for soldiers, sixty thousand of whom he recruited from all parts of the world, drilled and trained them most efficiently, but would not waste them in any war! At home he was a tyrant and the treatment he accorded to his son was such that, as Macaulay has put it, "Oliver Twist in the parish workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir apparent of a crown." Frederick (the son), being the very antithesis of his father, sought refuge in flight, but was caught and condemned to death for his attempted desertion. He was saved from this calamity only by the timely intercession of all the potentates of Europe. "Salvation belongs to the Lord," declared Frederick William, "and everything else is my affair."

No sooner did the young Frederick succeed to the throne of Prussia (1740) than he thought of making good use of his father's "darling army." His philosophy was: "As to dominions, take what you can; you are only wrong when you are compelled to make restitution." So he invaded Silesia and began the 'Austrian Succession War' (1740-48) which led on to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) with consequences already described. Internally also he fol

lowed the traditional policy of his family and earned for himself the title of Frederick the Great—the maker of Modern Germany. With all his faults Frederick had a high conception of the office of monarchs. “The monarch,” he declared, “is only the first servant of the State, who is obliged to act with probity and prudence, and to remain as totally disinterested as if he were each moment liable to render an account of his administration to his fellow-citizens. . . . The prince is to the nation he governs what the head is to the man ; it is his duty to see, think, and act for the whole community, that he may procure it every advantage of which it is capable.” He was unsparing in the pursuit of this ideal, though he never cared what means he had to adopt to secure the end.

In our survey of Grand Monarchy we referred to Peter the Great of Russia (1682-1725). Though Russia was always under monarchical despotism until its overthrow in 1918, we must content ourselves here with only a few typical examples. The Romanoffs came to the throne of Russia in 1613. Even before that the Grand Dukes of Moscow, like Ivan the Terrible, had already consolidated the absolutism of the ruling family at the expense of the *boyars* (barons). But the country had grown without coming to maturity as it were. Russia was very backward in all respects. She was more Asiatic than European. So when Peter became the Czar in 1696 he decided that his country ought to turn to the West rather than to the East for inspiration. He personally travelled widely in Germany, Holland, England, and greatly admired their progress. Keenly desirous of reforming his own subjects along their lines, he imported into Russia engineers, workmen, and teachers in all departments, from the countries he had visited. In his zeal for reform Peter toiled like a common workman in field

and factory, cut off with his own hands the flowing beards, moustaches, and robes of his nobles—as marks of the Orientals—,compelled women to come out of their seclusion, and built a new capital (St. Petersburg) to counteract the influence of conservative Moscow. Peter indeed wanted to “open a window” in the West; for Russia, in spite of her size (more than equal to all the other countries of Europe put together), was ice-bound in the North, had no access to the sea either in the West or South, while Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, and Turkey blocked her ways of expansion. Her history, ever since the days of Peter the Great, has therefore been one of conflict with all these powers.

In order to establish contact with the West, Peter at first tried to secure access to the Baltic. Here he found a formidable opponent in Charles XII of Sweden who displayed the military prowess of an Alexander the Great. Russia formed an alliance with Poland and Denmark to overpower Sweden, but only discovered that Charles was more than a match for all of them together. To create a diversion for Peter in the South, Charles also incited the Turks against Russia. However, when Charles died (1718), Russia made a Treaty with Sweden by which she gained Livonia, Esthonia, and other Swedish provinces at the eastern end of the Baltic. Her attempt to secure a foothold in the South at the expense of Turkey created the “Eastern Question” which will be dealt with later.

The ‘spiritual’ successor of Peter the Great in the pursuit of his European policy was Catherine II (1762-96). A German by birth she extended and established foreign influence within Russia. This had both good and evil results of a far-reaching character. ‘Adventurous, ambitious, despotic, corrupt, she sought by every available means to continue the work of making Russia a supreme European

power.' She evinced considerable interest in the great intellectual movements of Western Europe represented by men like Diderot and Voltaire (even like her contemporary Frederick the Great), and professed high-sounding political principles: 'the nation,' she said, 'is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation;' 'liberty,' she defined, 'is the right to do anything that is not forbidden by law;' 'better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer unjust punishment.' But her practice was a negation of all these doctrines. The sincerest devotee of the Enlightened Despotism of the eighteenth century in Europe was Catherine's Austrian contemporary Joseph II (1765-90), but he died a disappointed man. Catherine, while she brought large accession of territory and power to Russia (particularly by her share in the three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795), she was one of the strongest haters of the new forces released by the French Revolution. Her imbecile son Paul I (1796-1801) was assassinated by a coterie of her own courtiers. But the next ruler of Russia, Alexander I (1801-25), became famous as the protagonist of "Legitimism" in Europe. The triple pillars of this anti-Revolutionary movement were the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

We have already referred to the immediate reactions of Austria and Prussia to the revolutionary outbreak in France. The challenge of Leopold II (brother and successor of Joseph II) to the revolutionaries was reinforced by alliances, at first with Prussia, then with Russia, England, and all the rest of Europe. The ultimate result was the defeat of Napoleon and the humiliation of France in the Vienna Settlement. This settlement was as fateful in consequences as that of Utrecht a century earlier (1713) and Versailles a century later (1918). The high-priest of the Vienna

Congress was the Austrian statesman Metternich. Few men have exercised such powerful influence over the destinies of a continent like this Napoleon of diplomacy. The mere fact that Metternich presided over the deliberations of this most momentous gathering, where almost all the potentates of Europe were personally present, is sufficient indication of his importance. Next to him was Talleyrand the representative of France who put forward the doctrine of "Legitimacy" which formed the sheet-anchor of the Congress. That assembly was as reactionary as it was pompous; it was throughout marked by secret diplomacy and the domination of the big powers, as by 'an uninterrupted festival of extraordinary brilliance.' It trampled under foot the principles of nationalism, democracy and liberalism, as dangerous innovations, and reconstructed the map of Europe heedless of nationality. France was deprived of all her revolutionary and Napoleonic conquests and the reactionary Bourbon Louis XVIII (brother of Louis XVI who had "forgotten nothing and could forgive nothing") was foisted upon the throne of his ancestors; incompatibles like Norway and Sweden, Holland and Belgium, were bound together irrespective of the aspirations of their peoples; likewise the Machiavellian "Partitions" of Poland were confirmed to their foreign masters; Austria was allowed to dominate over dismembered Italy; and the gains of Great Britain were guaranteed to that country. While everyone, with the exception of France, got something, no one was satisfied.

The first outward manifestation of the spirit of the Congress was the formation of the Quadruple Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England. Its ostensible purpose was the defence of the Settlement; but in reality it sought to be the bulwark of reactionary "Legitimism." When England saw this sinister tendency, which was a negation

of all her liberal principles, she withdrew from the 'concert of Europe' and allowed her allies to cling to their Holy Alliance under the ægis of Czar Alexander I who had been privately characterised at the Congress of Vienna as "half fool, half Bonaparte."

It has been well observed by Professor Morse Stephens, that "The doctrines of the French Revolution did more than the victories of Napoleon to destroy the political system of the eighteenth century."¹ In the so-called Holy Alliance eighteenth century dynasticism was on its last legs. The subsequent history of Europe during the nineteenth century marks the triumph of Nationalism, Democracy, Liberalism, in country after country. We have room here only to record the results. For a fuller study of this great theme the reader must go to larger works. When Paris hath a cold, it is said, the whole of Europe sneezes. But we might as well say that whenever there is to be a political earthquake in Europe it is first indicated by the French seismograph.

There were national and democratic risings all over Europe in 1830 and 1848. In the first series, Greece won her independence from Turkey when the English poet Byron sacrificed himself at the altar of Hellenic liberation. In France, the restored Bourbon régime was once more overthrown in favour of the Orleanist "citizen king" Louis Philippe, who was crowned King "by the grace of God and *by the will of the people*." At the same time, Catholic Belgium regained her national independence from Protestant Holland, and her integrity was guaranteed by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. There were also significant repercussions in Poland, Italy, Spain, and England. During the

1. *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 3.

second wave of 1848, Louis Philippe was overthrown in France and the Second Republic was established under the presidency of Louis Napoleon who rapidly grew into (Napoleon III) the image of his greater namesake ; in Prussia, there were riots demanding freedom of the press, trial by jury, religious toleration, etc. ; in the Austrian dominions, the Slavs of Bohemia, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Latins of Italy, broke into rebellion and Metternich was obliged to seek safety in England (the last refuge of all exiles) ; in Germany, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein tried to overthrow the Danish yoke with the assistance of Prussia. Italy (with the exception of Venetia and the Papal States), through the inspiration of Mazzini, the diplomacy of Cavour, and the martial vigour of Garibaldi, became a united and independent Kingdom under the patriotic monarch Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, in 1861. Within ten years of this (1871) Germany under her Prussian King William (Wilhelm) I realised her dream of union with the help of her "iron Chancellor" Bismarck. This was achieved at the expense of Denmark, Austria, and France, with all of whom Prussia waged war. "The German problem," Bismarck had bluntly declared, "cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron." But this policy, according to

The good old plan
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can,

only resulted in a situation well described by the German general von Moltke in the Reichstag shortly after the conclusion of peace: "We have earned in the late war respect, but hardly love. What we have gained by arms in six months we shall have to defend by

arms for fifty years." Europe has not yet got out of the hole Bismarck put her into.

Austria was defeated by Prussia in the battle of Sadowa in 1866. This resulted in the separation of the North German Confederation from the Austrian 'Empire'. Next year, 1867, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was formed which lasted till the Great War (1914-18). France was defeated at Sedan in 1870, and Napoleon III abdicated. Paris surrendered, after a siege of four months, on January 28, 1871. In the peace that followed, France paid to Prussia a heavy war indemnity, and ceded to her the Rhine provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These were the seeds of the Great War of 1914-18. France formally inaugurated her Third Republic in 1875.

In Eastern Europe also the Russian policy of expansion had, in the meanwhile, culminated in the Crimean War of 1854-56. Turkey—"the sick man of Europe"—being subjected to a similar operation by Russia as that of Poland, was doctored back into life by England and France. But there was again a relapse in 1875 owing to the Balkan States catching infection from Russia. This once more brought the 'Colossus of the North' down to the gates of Constantinople, and Britain ordered two war-vessels to enter the Dardanelles 'for the protection of life and property.' But ultimately, through one of the most thrilling diplomatic manoeuvres recorded in history, war was averted. The Treaty of Berlin, 1878, brought relief to the Balkans, and 'peace with honour' to England; but it also transferred the attention of Russia from the Near to the Far East.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

Vigour—physical and intellectual. Trade, or material profit of some kind. Religion. Science. Here are the elements contributing to the Expansion of the West.—F. S. MARVIN

If in the above enumeration of the elements contributing to the Expansion of Europe the reader discovers the significant omission of 'politics', it may at once be pointed out that the political expansion of the West has itself been the almost inevitable product of the elements of Mr. Marvin's analysis. In describing the making of modern Europe we had necessarily to concentrate, in the last chapter, on political reconstruction—both external and internal—in that continent. The National and Democratic movements dealt with therein were wider and deeper than it has been possible for us to indicate in our brief survey. The forces underlying those upheavals and the far-reaching consequences on humanity must be studied more carefully here. We shall find it convenient to consider the Expansion of Europe first in the material sense, and then in the intellectual.

The history of the World traced by us so far has revealed to us several movements of populations from country to country and continent to continent. These movements were due to several causes, such as the excessive growth of population beyond the means of subsistence, the nomadic instinct that drove barbarian hordes from place to place out of sheer

restlessness, and the needs of commerce with ever-expanding markets.

The earliest example of European expansion abroad is found in the piratical adventures of the Norsemen who seem to have reached the northern parts of North America long before Columbus re-discovered that continent for the modern world. During the Middle Ages, Europe was already enough accustomed to the spices and luxuries of the East to feel the urge to explore new routes thereto. That impulse was further reinforced by the Turkish blockade of the 'Near East' culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The discoveries of da Gama and Columbus shifted the high-roads of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, while at the same time the primacy in world trade passed from the Venetians and the Arabs to the Portuguese and the Spaniards. And lastly, the division of the globe between these two nations by authority of Pope Alexander VI, no less than the religious zeal of the Portuguese and Spaniards themselves, gave to European expansion in the Old and New worlds the dual impetus of commerce and Christianity.

When the Reformation movement divided Europe into Catholic and Protestant, the latter group of nations—particularly the Dutch and the English—challenged the monopoly of the Iberian pioneers and soon undermined their positions in East and West alike. The Dutch broke through the Portuguese monopoly in Asia, and the English overthrew the Spanish in America. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 was indeed a great turning point: it destroyed the political prestige of Spain and marked the naval ascendancy of England.

With the accession of the Stuarts to the English throne (1603) an era of peace with Spain ensued, but a new rivalry with the Dutch in the East Indies started. Within twenty

years it culminated in the tragedy of Amboyna (1623) where the infuriated Dutch murdered ten Englishmen and tortured several others. Though this 'massacre' resulted in driving the English out of the Archipelago, it proved a blessing in disguise, for it gave them India. The quarrel with the Dutch nearer home led to the passing of the important Navigation Act of 1651, which provided that all goods imported into England must be carried either in English bottoms or in the ships of the country which produced them. The Dutch tried to defy this law and presumptuously sailed up the Thames with brooms attached to their mast-heads to signify their determination to sweep the English from the seas. But they were defeated all the same, and had to accept the Navigation Act confirmed by the Treaty of Westminster, 1654.

Another aspect of the contemporary scene which had momentous results may also be referred to here. The Spanish and Portuguese successes in South America had aroused the greed of the English, the Dutch, and the French, leading to international conflicts, organised piracy, and the foundation of colonies in the remaining parts of that continent. Emigration from Europe was further stimulated by the religious policies of monarchs during the Reformation period; the victims of persecution sought refuge in exile in the New World. The stream thus started was fed by a variety of causes all of which contributed to the permanent occupation of America by the Europeans. The details of the process must be read elsewhere. For our present purpose a record of the result alone should suffice.

The Portuguese had occupied Brazil and the Spaniards Mexico and Peru. Out of this nucleus grew up the Republics of South America. The Dutch were among the earliest in the race for North America, but their main objectives being

in the East, they were soon outstripped in the West by the English and the French. The river Hudson had been explored (1609) by an Englishman of that name, in the Dutch service. New York and New Jersey were originally Dutch New Amsterdam, but acquired by the English under Charles II who commissioned his brother, the Duke of York, to occupy them (1664). Meanwhile, the English colonies, founded by the "Pilgrim Fathers" who sailed in the *Mayflower* (1620),—New England—had grown into a powerful group; while the French had likewise flourished round about Quebec. Out of their worldwide rivalries (referred to in the previous chapter) England emerged triumphant at the end of the Seven Years' War which closed with the Treaty of Paris (1763). That gave the English their Indian Empire and Canada. Though at that time they also owned the present United States of America, these were lost in consequence of the American War of Independence (1776-83) which terminated with the Treaties of Paris and Versailles. This eventful victory of the settlers had important and varied consequences: (1) it created the independent U. S. A.; (2) it precipitated the Revolution in France; (3) it brought to an end the "old colonial policy" in England no less than the last bid for personal rule made by the English monarchs. Turgot's dictum that 'colonies are like fruit which drop off from the stem when they ripen' was proved true at least in this important case. More than anything else, the American Revolution convinced England of what Chatham had meant when he warned his countrymen saying: "We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The great hero of the American triumph was George Washington, about whom the English historian John Richard Green has written:

"No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life, 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen'."

The victory of the U. S. A. had also important repercussions in South America. Napoleon Bonaparte had overthrown the Bourbon ruler of Spain and seated his own brother Joseph on that throne, but the Spanish colonists in South America refused to acknowledge the usurper. Under the leadership of Simon Bolivar, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, etc. asserted their independence even when the old dynasty was restored in the mother country (under Ferdinand VII). Mexico too became independent in 1821, but fell a prey to continued disorder. The Portuguese colonists of Brazil likewise set up an independent State in 1822, with Don Pedro as their King. The further history of Latin America is too complicated to be dealt with here. But two facts may be noted : (1) All the colonies set up republican governments before the close of the century ; (2) the U. S. A. proclaimed the famous "Monroe doctrine" when the European Powers tried to meddle in their affairs. It laid down :

'In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defence. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle

in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers.'

For the next great European advance we must turn to the continents of Africa and Asia during the nineteenth century. We must necessarily skip over the thrilling stories of exploration, discovery, and adventure, and concentrate only on the bare enumeration of results. David Livingstone (1849-73), a Scotch missionary who crossed the entire Dark Continent from sea to sea, is one of the best known of Africa's explorers. Mission work went hand in hand in Africa with geographical discovery. While Islam made its home in North Africa from Morocco to Egypt, in Abyssinia, Siberia, and South Africa Christianity succeeded in establishing itself; the rest of Africa remained heathen.

Almost all the European nations participated in the exploitation of Africa. Particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a regular scramble for its tempting profits. In the past, Africa had provided the richest quarry for slaves; in more recent times it has been valued for rubber, ivory, diamonds, gold, and other rich natural products of a tropical continent. The Spaniards now hold the northern coast of Morocco; Portugal holds Angola and Portuguese East Africa; Belgium holds Congo; France owns Algeria, Tunis, most of Morocco, the valleys of the Senegal and Upper Niger, part of the Guinea coast, French Somaliland, and Madagascar. Germany and Italy were late in entering the arena. Frederick the Great had declared: "All distant possessions are a burden to the State. A village on the frontier is worth a principality two hundred and fifty miles away." Even Bismarck con-

sidered himself a 'no colony man'. All the same, Germany after her unification took the coastland of South-West Africa north of the Orange River, the Cameroons and East Africa. All of these, however, were taken away from Germany by the Allies in the Great War of 1914-18. Italy, though late in entering the field, secured Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Libya (1912), and last of all (1936) Abyssinia.

Though France has the lion's share of territory in Africa, Great Britain is important in point of power. Besides extensive possessions on the Guinea coast, she owns a solid block of territory stretching right through the continent from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean. The gold mines of the Transvaal and the diamond mines of Kimberley have rendered these colonies invaluable. Together with Cape Colony, Natal, and Orange Free State, they constitute the Union of South Africa. To these must be added Rhodesia (acquired by Cecil Rhodes), Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (conquered by Kitchner), and the German colonies (S. W. and E. Africa) won during the Great War. Britain also controls Egypt and has a decisive share in the control of the Suez Canal (constructed in 1869 by the French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps). This, together with the Cape-to-Cairo Railway (7000 miles)—the product of the enterprise of Cecil Rhodes—has given Britain great commercial and strategic advantages.

The opening up and partition of Asia must be reserved for another chapter, as it inevitably led to the awakening of the slumbering East, which is too large and important a subject to be dealt with here. We might more coherently proceed in this chapter with the further phases of the European expansion in the West, such as Industrialism and its attendant reactions: intellectual and political.

Modern industrialism which has given a new trend to

human civilisation had its birth in England in the eighteenth century. That movement is usually referred to as the Industrial Revolution. Though of late some writers have criticised the use of the term "Revolution" as being too misleading, no more suggestive or comprehensively adequate expression has been found. Equally misleading is it to suggest that the Industrial Revolution began in a particular year or even decade. But considering that the several important things which gave it its peculiar character occurred all together in a crowded fifty years or so, it would not be wrong to assign the genesis of this great movement to the latter half of the eighteenth century. That was also the period of other momentous happenings such as the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the French Revolution.

While all wars are expensive and disastrous in their consequences, England has enjoyed certain peculiar advantages on account of her geographical situation. The immunity from foreign invasion which she has enjoyed through several centuries, and her naval supremacy, have alike enabled her to develop her political and economic life along her own lines, undisturbed by any external power. On the other hand, she has found it especially possible for her to strike at all her enemies without being hurt to the same extent. Thus she was able to destroy the power of France in the series of wars which ended with Waterloo. Whereas these wars disorganised the entire economic life of the Continent, they afforded a unique opportunity to English commerce and industry which flourished despite the Berlin Decrees and the Continental System of Napoleon. It was this rare stimulus which quickened the pace of English industry to such an extent, towards the close of the eighteenth century, that it almost looked like a *revolution*. In the words of

Professor Hammond, "That revolution was marked by the dissolution of the old village, by the transformation of the textile industries, by changes of a different kind in the pottery industries, and by a great concentration of capital and power in the industries connected with iron, steel, and coal."¹ In short, that revolution converted England from being the "granary of the North" (as the Romans had found her) into the Workshop of the World.

It was under these circumstances that a series of mechanical inventions appeared: Hargreave's "spinning jenny" in 1764, Arkwright's "water frame" in 1769, Crompton's "mule" in 1779, Cartwright's "power loom" in 1785, Whitney's "gin" in 1792, etc. And more than anything else, the application of steam power to all departments of industry, including manufacture as well as transport,—rendered possible by the genius of Watt (1769) and Stephenson (1814)—ushered in the era of large-scale production and distribution with all their inevitable consequences. It is impossible even to summarise the salient features of this Revolution within the space at our disposal. It has made the Modern World what it is. A more adequate idea of its complexities will be gained from a later chapter. Suffice it here to observe that we owe all our comforts, conflicts, dangers, and outlooks to what was happening in the Western World during the past two hundred years or so.

One important aspect of these changes, however, may be particularly noted. English policy in India was largely affected by the growing demand in England for raw-materials and markets for her finished goods. "England was now producing," says Professor Hammond, "something that India could buy. A British government was not likely to

1. J. L. Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, p. 2.

treat a distant community that had come under its control more unselfishly than it had treated the British Colonies in America. Heavy duties were placed upon Indian cottons and silks in the Home tariff, and when the Indian market, hitherto the monopoly of the East India Company, was thrown open in 1813, the duties imposed on cotton goods entering India were merely nominal. In 1831 a petition was presented from natives of Bengal, complaining without success of the British duty of 10 per cent. on manufactured cottons, and 24 per cent. on manufactured silks. The effect of political control, combined with the inventions, was seen in the figures of our trade with India.¹ If India had been in the hands of a rival Power anxious either to develop a new cotton industry of its own, or to develop a native cotton industry in India, Lancashire would not have found so rich a market for her yarn and piece-goods."

The social and political effects of the Industrial Revolution in England itself were profound and interesting. The rapid advance of the "enclosure" movement, the improved methods of agriculture, and the introduction of machinery, alike contributed to immediate social disorganisation. While on the one hand the population of England was growing on account of her increasing prosperity, widespread unemployment and misery were also caused by several changes coming in at the same time on the other. The surplus population, including a large number of criminals, after being swept into the army and navy (for which there was great demand on account of the various wars) was still available for colonisation abroad. The epoch-making discoveries of Captain Cook (1769-79) made Australia readily

1. In 1815, 800,000 yards of British cotton cloth were imported in India; in 1830, 45,000,000 yards.—*Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

available for the purpose. Before the United States became independent America had been used as the 'Andamans' of Great Britain. Australia soon received such a large population of criminals that crime offered no means of livelihood to the immigrants there. Hence the deportation of undesirables from England proved a double blessing : it blessed them that went, and them that sent. The well-known words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux with reference to the recruits for the Second Crusade may very well be applied to the founders of the Australian colony : 'In the countless multitude you will find few except the utterly wicked and impious, the sacrilegious, homicides, and perjurers, whose departure is a double gain. Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them ; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and their presence there.'

There was also a great shifting of populations within the country. People began to crowd into the industrial cities. The evils of the Factory System manifested themselves before its benefits were appreciated by the people at large. The New Industry like the New Agriculture seemed to profit only the rich at the expense of the poor. The tyranny of William Pitt's war-régime made the transition less bearable. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had transferred power from the King to an Oligarchy of landlords. Now a new nobility arose among the industrial and commercial magnates to compete with them. The great discontent was allayed to a certain extent only in the era of reform that followed in the wake of Napoleon's defeat.

The nineteenth century was eminently an Age of Liberalism, though the Liberals were not always and everywhere in power. The Conservatives withstood as much as they dared, and the Radicals exacted as much as they could. Though gradualism held the balance, on the whole, free-

dom was broadening from precedent to precedent. It was the age during which the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had taken place in the continent of Europe. In England it was marked by a series of long needed reforms. Constitutionally there were the Parliamentary Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, by which the political franchise was extended down to the urban and rural workers. In other directions it brought religious toleration (Catholic Emancipation Act), Poor Laws for the relief of the distressed, education for the masses, criminal law reform, factory legislation, Public Health Acts, attempts to conciliate Ireland (Home Rule Bills), the abolition of slavery, the extinction of the East India Company with its sequel of political and social reform in India, the development of the Press, local self-government, and Self-Government for the Dominions.

England has been to the Modern World what Athens was to the Ancient. Ideas, movements, and happenings in that Island sooner or later reflected themselves in the rest of the world. England achieved parliamentary Democracy and all other countries have been striving ever since to emulate her example. England started the Industrial Revolution and the whole world is still being transformed to her pattern. England grew Imperialist and turned to Federalism for finding liberty in union, and nations are still trying to walk in her footsteps. Just as Rome and Christianity gave unity to Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, so England and Science have imparted unity to Western Civilisation in later times. Hence the very large claim of England on our attention in dealing with the Expansion of Europe. Fuller and deeper implications of this theme will be brought out in the succeeding chapters.

A hand-drawn map of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania. The map shows the Pacific Ocean to the east, the Indian Ocean to the south, and the Gobi Desert in the northwest. Key regions labeled include the Soviet Union, Mongolia, China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan (Formosa), the Philippines, Indonesia, and Australia. Major cities like Peking, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Sydney are marked. The map also shows the Sea of Okhotsk, the Japanese archipelago, and the island of New Guinea.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

AWAKENING OF THE EAST

If the nineteenth century was the opportunity of the West, the twentieth is for the East. Concentrated in its eastern and southern fringe, Asia holds well over half the inhabitants of the globe ; and this vast population is astir.—E. B. MITFORD

Like Germany, France, and England in Europe, India, China, and Japan hold the destiny of Asia in their hands. Apart from their contributions to civilisation in the ancient times, these countries have influenced human history in every succeeding age. Their importance has increased instead of diminishing in the modern world. During the period of great activity on the part of Europe, Asia appeared to be comparatively sluggish if not altogether dormant. But there is always a 'tide in the affairs of men', and Europe took it at the flood particularly since the Renaissance. Europe then awoke from the long slumbers of the Dark Ages and entered upon a great creative epoch. She discovered new continents, both geographical and intellectual. In her age of expansion she inundated the whole world. We have watched her activities in Europe, Africa, and America. We must now turn to Asia.

The first Asiatic country to come under European control was India. We have already spoken of the fall of the Mughal Empire, and alluded to the rivalries between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English

in the East. That is a familiar tale. Its importance for us lies in the consequences. The Seven Years' War definitely marked the ascendancy of England. Though England lost the American colonies (U. S. A.) after this, she was more than compensated for that loss by her acquisition of India. The work begun at Arcot, Plassey, and Buxar in the days of Clive in the eighteenth century was completed in the nineteenth by Wellesley and Dalhousie. The final overthrow of the Marathas (1818) who had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Mughals was not less significant than the overthrow of Napoleon (1815) only three years earlier : both marked a new era—one in India and the other in Europe. The pretensions of the Peshwa and the Mughal Emperor were simultaneously extinguished in the Great Rising of 1857. It is also not to be forgotten that the 'Honourable John Company Bahadoor' too was extinguished in that conflagration which illumined the birth of a New India.

Here we must not lose sight of happenings in England and Europe at the same time. It was an epoch of reforms and revolutions, economic, political, and social. Both Nationalism and Democracy (the two great moulding forces of nineteenth century Europe) derived a new impulse and significance from the Industrial Revolution. The economic changes in agriculture, industry, and commerce—confirmed and extended the scope of democracy as well as nationalism. Out of these complex elements was born British Imperialism whose testing crucible has been India. India fed the Industrial Revolution, supplied it raw materials, and provided a vast market for its finished articles, including high employment for the growing population of England. Hence India became indispensable to England, to secure hold over whom she has had to set her policies. Truly in the words of

Lord Curzon : " India is the pivot of our British Empire. If this Empire loses any other part of its Dominions, we can survive. But if we lose India, the sun of our Empire will have set."

But, if Imperialism invaded India, neither could the wave of Liberalism be dammed within the countries of its origin. Steamships, railways, and telegraphs were not calculated to keep the world divided into oases and deserts. British Liberalism was bound to leaven the conquests of British Conservatism. This was the significance of the simultaneous extinction in India of Indian feudalism and the English East India Company's rule. The anomaly of His Majesty's subjects holding sovereign rights (though it be over coloured peoples) was an anachronism that could not be sustained in the nineteenth century. So the Regulating Act (1763) culminated in Her Majesty's Proclamation; the Reforms of 1833 were to end in the demand for *Swaraj*. If England fed on India, she could not also prevent India from feeding on Burke, Bright, and Mazzini. England, while she deliberately destroyed the Old Order in India, also inevitably paved the way of the Indian Renaissance.

We can touch here only on a few phases of the Indian Awakening in the nineteenth century. It was significant that the year of the Great Rising also witnessed the foundation of the three modern Universities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Indian Renaissance has been the product of Western education alone. It has been the resultant of several forces acting at the same time. The Rising of 1857 was more a social revolt than a mere mutiny of the army or even a political rebellion. Its suppression was necessary not only for the security of British rule, but also for the creation of a New India. It was an event as epoch-making for India

and Asia as the fall of the Bastille was for France and Europe. The Rousseau of the Indian Revolution was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833), the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. He was followed by an army of great reformers like Devendra Nath Tagore (Rabindranath's father) and Keshab Chandra Sen in Bengal, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83), the founder of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1900), the founder of the Prarthana Samaj in Maharashtra. Much useful work in the national uplift was also done by Swami Vivekananda, the apostle of a reformed faith, who carried the message of Awakened India to Europe and America (1895-97). Similar work was done by Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan (1817-98) to put new life into the paralysed Muslim community. He founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (1875) which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University.

Meanwhile the economic exploitation of the country by our foreign rulers was bearing disastrous fruit. Under the East India Company's rule the ancient textile industry of India had been ruthlessly suppressed, so much so, that an English Governor-General reported in 1834 that "the bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." Towards the close of the century, in 1878, Florence Nightingale wrote : "The saddest sight to be seen in the East—nay probably in the world—is the peasant of our Eastern Empire." The terrible famines of 1876-77 and 1896-99 were symptoms of the country's economic anæmia. The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was intended to suppress the growing agitation and discontent. Though the benevolent Lord Ripon tried to pacify the people by the repeal of that odious Act (1881) and the grant of Local Self-government (1884), he raised the squall of the Ilbert Bill agitation

on the part of the European community, when he touched the crucial problem of 'justice without colour prejudice'. "The passionate claim of the European to predominance was to be answered by the passionate claim of the Indian to equality." Under such auspices was born the Indian National Congress in 1885, the one organ that in course of time was to be the champion of Renaissance India—the instrument of the Indian *resorgimento*. Its aims were enunciated as follows :—

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country."

Further development of the situation in India will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here we must take note of happenings in the 'Far East', i.e. China and Japan. The problems raised by these two countries—no less than those raised by India—still await solution. Indeed, in the past it looked as if, whatever might happen in the West, the East would remain unalterably fixed and unchanging; but now it appears that, whatever the West may do to prevent or postpone, nothing will remain unchanged in India, China, and Japan. Gulliver has awakened from his sleep and Lilliput must be upset!

We last mentioned China in connexion with Kublai Khan and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. Only two more dynasties (*Ming*, 1368-1644; and *Ching* or *Manchu*, 1644-1912) followed that founded by Kublai Khan, and armies

of European adventurers (missionary, mercantile, and military) came in the wake of Marco Polo. It was all along the story of the Cross followed by a pair of scales enforced by the booming guns. The result was the outcome of the entire historical process in China as well as of the Chinese character. As Bertrand Russell has remarked: "China may be regarded as an artist nation, with the virtues and vices to be expected of the artist: virtues chiefly useful to others, and vices chiefly harmful to oneself."¹ Culture has been China's greatest virtue and disunion her greatest vice. The woes of the Chinese are the product of Western Imperialism acting on a people with a rich inheritance, vast resources, but lacking the security that a strong and united government alone can give.

Under the Ming dynasty the Celestial Empire included the major portion of Asia, excluding only India, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, Asia-Minor, and Japan. The rest—including China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Indo-China, Burma and Tibet—was either directly ruled by the Ming Emperors or subject to them as tributary states. At one time even Nepal was compelled to pay tribute to China for interfering with Tibet across the snow-clad mountains. But such vast territories were a source of weakness rather than strength. The outlying parts were in a chronic state of revolt. The *Tuchuns* or war-lords created a sort of feudal anarchy which the occupants of the Dragon Throne were able to control only occasionally. But despite the constant disturbances and the consequent misery of the people, Chinese pre-occupations with Culture produced such works as the *Encyclopædia* compiled under the Ming Emperor Yung Lo (*Yoong Law*, 1403-25), and the standard *Dictionary* of

1. *The Problem of China*, p. 10.

the Chinese language prepared under the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi (*Hhahng Shee*, 1662-1723). The former work comprised 11,000 volumes with a total of 917,486 pages and 366,000,000 words. The Dictionary contained 40,000 words accompanied in each case by appropriate quotations from the works of every age and of every style, chronologically arranged. K'ang Hsi also produced another encyclopædia in 1628 volumes of 200 pages each, whose biographical section alone contained 24,000 lives of eminent women!

The greatest ruler of the Ming dynasty was *Hsiao Tsung* (1488-1506). Under him peace and prosperity reigned in the land. After him began the European race for China. In 1517 two envoys arrived at Nanking, carrying letters from the King of Portugal. Two more came in 1520, but they were all driven away unceremoniously by the Chinese. Eight hundred Portuguese were massacred at Ningpo, a little later, while attempting to land forcibly. However, they succeeded in securing a foothold at Macao in 1550. The first Christian station was founded in Canton in 1579. Matteo Ricci, an enterprising Jesuit missionary, reached Peking in 1601. By his knowledge of Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, and other sciences, he ingratiated himself into the favour of the Emperor and obtained permission for missionaries to settle in important centres.

The English arrived in Canton in 1637, but they had to sail away without achieving anything. Their first official embassy, however, did not reach the Celestial Emperor until 1792, when the Earl of Macartney came with a request from George III. He too was put off by the Chinese Emperor who roundly declared: "I have no use for your country's manufactures...I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance

of the usages of our Celestial Empire." The Opium Wars (1839-42) were the English reply to this. The English had already long secured a share in the profitable trade with China. Since 1669 their settlement in Canton had been the most flourishing among the European establishments there. By 1833 the East India Company's monopoly in the opium trade with China had become the envy of even their own countrymen at home. In 1839 the Imperial Commissioner, Lin, failing to prevent the foreigners from importing opium into the country (against Imperial orders), forcibly seized large quantities of the drug from Canton and destroyed the same. The English retaliated by waging war against the Chinese who were too weak to resist successfully. After sustaining great losses they submitted to the Treaty of Nanking (1842). By this the English acquired Hong-Kong, the right of residence and trade in Canton, Shanghai, and three other ports, in addition to an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars. This was the real beginning of the European scramble in China and the consequent "opening" of that helpless country, which is still a prey to the predatory incursions of powerful and aggressive nations, including her own neighbour and pupil Japan.

After the Opium Wars events moved rapidly. The English example encouraged other Europeans and America. An internal rising, known as the T'ai-p'ing (Long-haired) Rebellion (1861-64), under the Christian leader Hung Hsiu-ch'uan (an educated convert), afforded a golden opportunity. The capture of a few Chinese suspects from a ship at Canton flying the British flag, by Commissioner Yeh, was interpreted as an infringement of the Nanking Treaty. War with China was resumed, and further "concessions" were extorted. It was in the course of these hostilities that the English and French acting jointly committed one of the most atrocious

crimes in History—viz. the destruction of the *Yuen-Ming-Yuen* or the Imperial Summer Palace in Peking (1866). Its "artistic value, on account of the treasures it contained," writes Bertrand Russell, "must have been about equal to that of Saint Mark's in Venice and much greater than that of Rheims Cathedral. This act did much to persuade the Chinese of the superiority of our civilization, so they opened seven more ports and the river Yangtse, paid an indemnity and granted us more territory at Hong-Kong."¹ In 1870 the murder of a British diplomat by the exasperated Chinese brought more indemnity, more ports, and a fixed tariff for opium. Then the French occupied Annam and Tongking, and the British took Burma, but of course not without excuse in each case.

Japan, whose awakening we shall deal with presently, also followed too gladly the example of the Europeans. Already she had adopted their methods and begun her bullying and blustering career of imperialistic expansion. Even as early as 1592 she had overrun Korea and killed 38,700 Chinese and Koreans in one battle. On that occasion the Japanese general, Hideyoshi, commemorated his success by cutting off the ears of the fallen and erecting the "Ear Mound" in Tokyo. Now, in 1894, she again invaded Korea, occupied the Liao-tung peninsula (Port Arthur), and compelled China to cede to her the islands of Formosa and Pescadores. But European jealousy prevented Japan from enjoying the full fruits of her victory. Korea was nominally declared independent, and Japan was obliged to withdraw from Port Arthur, though compensated with further indemnity. Russia, Germany, and France were also rewarded for their uncalled for interference. Russia was allowed to build

1. *The Problem of China*, p. 52.

a railway to Vladivostok and Port Arthur, through Manchuria; France to do the same on the Tongking frontier; and Germany obtained railway and mining rights in Shantung. This was the beginning of another spate of greedy scramble on the part of all the imperialistic vultures.

The murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897 provided the much looked for *casus belli*. The Germans seized Kiaochow Bay and created a naval base there. The British thereupon, to hold the balance, leased Wei-hai-wei and established a "defensive circuit" around Hong-Kong; France did the same with Kuang-chow Bay and the southern borders of Yunnan; and Russia in Port Arthur and Talienwan. This last caused Japan such great annoyance that it led to one of the most epoch-making events in History, viz. the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 (which will be dealt with later). For the present she obtained Fukien.

These happenings were not without great repercussions on China. They brought the Chinese Dragon to bay in the famous "Boxer Revolt." It was the Chinese replica of the great Indian Rising of 1857. 'In 1899 the Boxers, or "Fists for Justice and Peace," arose in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely turned into an anti-foreign attack. Spreading over the north-east, it was taken up by the court party and the dowager; many foreigners, mostly missionaries, were killed or officially executed, thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the foreign legations were destroyed, all save the British Legation, which was besieged by the Chinese and relieved by the allied forces on August 14, 1900.'¹ The results of this will be assessed in the next chapter.

The awakening of Japan is unique and unparalleled in

1. Soothill, *A History of China*, pp. 65-6.

human history. Such all round transformation as we find in modern Japan has, no doubt, been accomplished by many another country, but only after a long process of natural evolution as in England, or by violent revolution as in Soviet Russia. In the ancient world, Greece displayed a sudden and surprising gush of energy, after the overthrow of Persia, and created a wonderful culture ; but Greece could never be united. The feeble imperialism of Athens proved abortive in the face of the irrepressible centrifugalism of the Greeks. The Napoleon of Greece (Alexander) was a foreigner, and his work was even less effective than that of the Little Corsican. But we have in modern Japan, the rare combination of the creative energy of the ancient Greeks, the revolutionary fervour of the modern Russian, and the industrial and technical efficiency of the English. And all these characteristics have come to the forefront within less than a century. Indeed, the menace of Japan to-day far from blinding us in respect of these qualities, only sets them off in a lurid light. In the *Awakening of the East*, the rise of Japan, though chronologically the last, has been the most significant and portentous. Since the seeds of the present are imbedded in the past, we must trace the history of Japan from where we left it in an earlier chapter.

A recent writer has divided Japanese history into three periods : (i) classical Buddhist Japan (1522-1603) 'suddenly civilized by China and Korea, refined and softened by religion, and creating the historic masterpieces of Japanese literature and art ;' (ii) feudal Japan of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), 'peaceful . . . , isolated and self-contained, seeking no alien territory and no external trade, content with agriculture and wedded to art and philosophy ;' (iii) modern Japan (since 1853 or 1868), 'seeking foreign materials and markets, fighting wars of irrepressible expan-

sion, imitating the imperialistic ardour and methods of the West, and threatening both the ascendancy of the white race and the peace of the world.'¹ We need refer here principally to the second of these periods. The greatest figure belonging to the earlier age was Hideyoshi (d. 1598).

Japan had long remained independent and aloof. Neither Kublai Khan nor Marco Polo could reach her. Hideyoshi, whose adventure in Korea in 1592 has been alluded to before, was the Clive of medieval Japan. Given up by his family as an intractable child, he grew up to be the most portentous of the *samurai* or swordsmen. Though his adventure in Korea proved abortive, Hideyoshi had the foresight of a Sir Josiah Child (who in 1685 dreamed of 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come') : "With Korean troops," he assured his Emperor, "aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected, the three countries (Korea, China, and Japan) will be one. I shall do it as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it away under his arm."

The next important man to influence the destiny of Japan, after Hideyoshi, was Iyeyasu (1603-16). He was a *Shogun* or military General, and exercised more power than the *Mikado* or Emperor himself. The *Shoguns* for a long time were almost invariably members of the *Minamoto* family. From the clan to which they belonged, their régime was called the *Tokugawa Shogunate*. According to Lafcadio Hearn, "the Tokugawa period was the happiest in the long life of the nation." Professor Will Durant writes : "Iyeyasu organised peace as ably and ruthlessly as he had or-

1. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 829.

ganized war, and administered Japan so well that it was content to be ruled by his posterity and his principles for eight generations.”¹ The principles of Iyeyasu were summed up by himself thus : ‘Take care of the people. Strive to be virtuous. Never neglect to protect the country.’

Internally Japan suffered from the evils of feudalism, but externally she appears to have been always united in her attitude towards foreigners. The patriotism of the Japanese is unique and ancient ; it has been almost their true national religion. ‘The Great Yamato (i.e. Japan),’ wrote one in 1334, ‘is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the Divine Ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the Divine Land.’ This has been the faith of the Japanese people ever since. As a corollary to it they have ever looked upon all foreigners with suspicion if not hatred. Particularly has this been their attitude towards the white races—the Europeans.

The first European of note to enter Japan was St. Francis Xavier, the great and noble Jesuit missionary who introduced Christianity in that island in 1549. It is said that within a generation after his coming there were not less than seventy Jesuits and 150,000 converts to Christianity in Japan. But soon the Japanese realised that the advent of the foreigners was a source of great danger, especially after a naive European trader told them : ‘Our Kings begin by sending, into the countries they wish to conquer, *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion ; and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians ; and then our Kings have

1. *Ibid.*, p. 841.

not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.' The Japanese took this confession literally and promptly adopted measures to prevent their land passing into the hands of such dangerous foreigners.

In 1614 the practice and preaching of Christianity were forbidden. By determined persecution that religion was stamped out from Japan by 1638. Since then, until the re-opening of that country to external intercourse after 1853, the doors of Japan remained closed to foreigners. During this period of over two centuries Japan continued to be steeped in feudal parochialism. She emerged out of this isolation in 1853-54 when the American adventurer, Commodore Perry, forced his way into Japan against the prohibition. This resulted in the Treaty of Kanagawa by which Japanese ports were once again opened to intercourse with the hated "barbarians." In return the United States offered to sell to Japan 'such arms and battleships as she might need, and to land officers and craftsmen for the instruction of this absurdly pacific nation in the arts of war.'

The consequence was the great awakening of Japan in the *Meiji Era* (1867-1912) under its enlightened Emperor Meiji Tenno. During this short period Japan transformed herself from an obscure feudal country into one of the most modern states. Hundreds of Japanese youths went to Europe and America and returned home with the zeal of Peter the Great for Europeanisation. 'Englishmen were brought in to superintend the construction of railways, the erection of telegraphs, and the building of a navy; Frenchmen were commissioned to recast the laws and train the army; Germans were assigned to the organization of medicine and public health; Americans were engaged to establish a system of universal education; and to make matters complete, Italians were imported to instruct the Japanese in

sculpture and painting.' To quote a Japanese writer (Nitobe) : 'Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages ; academies shot up, where youths could receive instruction in military and naval tactics ; raw recruits were drilled ; foundries and smithies sprang into existence, and belfries were molested to furnish metal for arsenals.' As Mr. H. G. Wells has put it : Japan "made all European progress seem sluggish and tentative by comparison." The result was soon seen in her aggression in Korea and China referred to already (1894), her alliance with England (1902), and her epoch-making victory over Russia (1904-5). The last was the outcome of the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, from which Japan had been previously ousted. The 'Battle of the Sea of Japan,' observes Professor Will Durant, "was a turning point in modern history. Not only did it end the expansion of Russia into Chinese territory ; it ended also the rule of Europe in the East, and began that resurrection of Asia which promises to be the central political process of our century. All Asia took heart at the sight of the little island empire defeating the most populous power in Europe ; China plotted her revolution, and India began to dream of freedom." ¹

1. *Ibid.*, p. 919.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE WORLD TO-DAY

If the world cannot organise against war, if war must go on, then the nations can protect themselves henceforth only by using whatever destructive agencies they can invent till the resources and inventions of science end by destroying humanity they were meant to serve.

—VISCOUNT GREY

This observation was made by Viscount Grey on 15 May 1916 when the World was in the grip of the Great War. Though more than twenty-two years have passed since then, the situation in the World to-day has hardly changed for the better. In the present chapter we shall make an objective survey of the facts of recent human history which have contributed to such a state of affairs. "When war broke out in 1914," wrote Mr. Basil Matthews in the *Review of Reviews*, May 1920, "five empires of the despotic military type remained on the earth's surface. They were the German, the Austrian, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Japanese. To-day four out of the five are smashed in irretrievable ruin. Japan alone remains. The old European order has gone—the one Asiatic Power, rich now beyond the dream of avarice, with its man-power unimpaired and its ambitions vaster than those of Alexander, leaps upon the stage fully equipped. On the face of it, then, the first and dominant facts of the world situation are in favour

of the Orient." But since the Orient to-day, as we saw in the preceding chapter, has been the creation of the Occident, we have to trace here the entire trend of World History in both the hemispheres.

Of the five Empires referred to above—Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Japan—the most formidable were Germany in Europe, and Japan in Asia. Though Austria was the oldest imperial power in Europe, her power had been successively curtailed since her loss of Silesia. Russia had steadily grown at her expense. Italy successfully revolted against her in 1861: Austria retired from Germany and formed the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy in 1867. She never recovered from the blow of Sadowa. Ever since then she has always been tied to the apron-strings of Prussia. Her *Dual Alliance* with that country, effected in 1879, was to culminate in her sacrifices sustained during 1914-18, and finally in the Nazi *coup* of 1938. The Russian Empire crashed in 1917 after having sustained a series of internal and external shocks. The "sick man of Europe," despite the crutches supplied to him, from time to time by England and France, had been too frequently amputated to survive for long. He could live only in his new republican *avatar* under the Ata Turk, Kemal Pasha, in the post-war world. More about Austria, Russia, and Turkey later; first we must follow the progress of Prussia since 1871.

Despite Bismarck's great triumphs over Austria and France, Germany was far from being a "satisfied nation." She had been the last in the race for colonies, and such places as she got 'in the sun' (her African colonies) were too scorching for her surplus population. Elsewhere she found herself anticipated by her Anglo-Saxon cousins. The Industrial Revolution created for Prussia all the insistent demands—for raw-materials and markets—that England had

felt earlier ; but her scope for expansion was circumscribed. Hence her struggle for existence became increasingly desperate. Hence her philosophers like Nietzsche began to inculcate the doctrine of "real politik" ; and the patriotic aspirations of a united Germany turned from love of country to the love of more country. Her new "kultur" tried to find expression in diplomacy and war.

France was not likely to reconcile herself to her loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the humiliation of Sedan, the German occupation of Paris, and the terms of the Treaty of Frankfort (1871). Bismarck knew that France would continue to be Prussia's deadliest enemy. So he began to weave a sinister web of diplomacy, every line of which was calculated to keep France isolated and weak. 'To obviate a rapprochement between France and Russia—a thing which above all others he dreaded—he encouraged France to establish a republican rather than a monarchical form of government. To alienate France from Italy he supported the French annexation of Tunis. To embroil France with Britain he favoured the British occupation of Egypt. To prevent Austria being drawn into an anti-Prussian fellowship with France he cultivated her friendship himself, and found means to bind the Central Empires together in the bonds of a close alliance. Throughout the whole of the remainder of Bismarck's career as a statesman (1871-90) France was kept solitary and impotent.'¹

Bismarck's mantle of leadership was soon assumed by Kaiser Wilhelm II who came to the throne in 1888. "Impulsive, imperious, dramatic, a militarist from his cradle, a statesman trained in 'the indirect, crooked ways' of Bis-

1. Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History* (1815-1915), p. 272.

marck, governed by one passion, the passion to make his land great and powerful, how can we cast his horoscope?" asks Mr. A. G. Gardiner; and he answers: "Here was a new Napoleon, filled with dreams of glory, armed with the most gigantic military weapon in history." His ambition was ominously announced by him in his first address to his army: "I solemnly vow always," he declared, "to be mindful of the fact that the eyes of my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that one day I shall have to render to them an account both of the glory and the honour of the army." The Great War of 1914-18 was the fulfilment of this 'solemn vow.'

Bismarck had already in the year of Wilhelm's accession (1888) increased the German army by 800,000 'in shining armour.' The new Kaiser therefore set himself to the task of creating a great German navy; for without it his ambition of the Teutonic domination of the world (in commerce and colonisation) could not be achieved. So Heligoland was purchased from England herself in 1890, to form a splendid naval base for Germany; the excellent Kiel Canal was constructed; and strong naval stations were also built at Bornholm, Cuxhaven, and Wilhelmshaven. A series of Naval Bills were passed to carry out the Kaiser's naval programme. In 1900, at the Paris Exhibition, the Germans openly proclaimed to the world in gold letters "*Our future lies on the water.*"

The 'peaceful penetration' of the world by German missionaries and merchants in the meanwhile had proceeded apace. For instance, while there were not more than 16,000 Germans in all their colonies at the accession of Wilhelm II, in Brazil alone there were not less than 350,000 Germans on the eve of the Great War. "At home science was put in commission to do its best—or worst... All their know-

ledge, their thoroughness, their powers of organisation—for in this also they have been unsurpassed—were turned to the production of zeppelins, submarines, krupp guns, mines, torpedoes, poison-gases, and other devices.”¹ Railways were constructed with broad sidings for troops and cannons; and a bargain was struck with Turkey for the extension of the German railway-system to Bagdad—for penetrating into the Orient. While all other European Powers looked down upon the Sultan as “Abdul the damned,” the Kaiser assiduously cultivated his friendship. Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, though it was against the terms of the Treaty of Berlin (1878); and Germany, not merely connived at it, but prevented Russia from interfering on behalf of the Slavs, by a timely and successful display of her ‘shining armour.’ She herself twice poked her nose (or rather Eagle’s beak) into French Morocco, in 1905 and 1911, to test her own strength and also that of her prospective enemies. But these adventures only served to bring about the dreaded coalition of the *Triple Entente* between England, France, and Russia, which Bismarck had tried so much to prevent. The train thus prepared was set ablaze in 1914 when the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated by the Serbians in the Bosnian capital *Serajevo*.

The history of the War may be very briefly told. It lasted from August 1914 to November 1918. Starting with Austria’s declaration of war on Serbia for the *Serajevo* murders, it gradually involved all the important Powers of the World. The tangle of alliances previously described dragged one country after another into the cock-pit. Germany entered the lists on account of Austria, and Russia on behalf of Serbia. The Franco-Russian alliance drew France into

1. Russell, *The Tradition of the Roman Empire*, p. 237.

the field against the Central Powers (Germany and Austria), and the German attempt to enter France through Belgium (violating the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality as a mere 'scrap of paper') brought Great Britain and her Empire into the fray. Bulgaria and Turkey were soon entangled with Germany and Austria, while Italy, Greece, and the Arabs joined the Allies (England and France) one after another. But the most decisive factor which tilted the balance and fortunes of war against the Germans and their allies was the entry of the United States of America in 1917. In the Far East, Japan threw in her weight on the side of England as a result of the Anglo-Japanese alliance formed in 1902.

Though in the course of human history longer wars (like the Hundred Years' War) had been fought, this Great War was unparalleled in its disastrous consequences. Not merely was it the first war in which the whole World was directly or indirectly involved, but it was also unique in its concentration of energies for the destruction of men and materials. It was the first war in human history to be fought in three dimensions, on account of the addition of the aerial arm and the submarine. Science revealed for the first time its baleful potentialities. During those four years of armageddon Humanity appeared to strain every nerve to see through the struggle once and for all. The following sketch of one of its trying moments might convey to the reader a faint glimpse of its grim character :

"In the low-lying plain of Flanders, where the British held Ypres salient against many German attempts to drive through to the channel ports, the warfare was partly amphibious since the trenches filled with water in the wet winter weather. At times, by day, there was hardly a sign of life above the ground, behind the barbed wire which protected the two lines of hostile trenches, with a No Man's Land of varying width between. Even

the many rats kept their holes. At night, however, these muddy trenches became alive with armed figures in steel helmets, with gas-masks and mud-coloured uniforms. Back from the front line stretched the communication trenches, the support lines, the batteries of artillery, the miles of horse lines, the dressing stations for the wounded, the 'dumps' of ammunition and supplies of every kind, the aerodromes, the camps of relieving or attacking troops. This for most men of the Western Front, was 'the war', which stretched on interminably for weeks, months, and years, broken by raids and attacks from either side, but unchanged in essence until shortly it came to an end. It was truly described as 'a war of attrition.'"¹

The civil populations of the belligerent countries played as important and strenuous a part in this war as the combatants themselves. Their mobilisation was as vast and intensive as that of the soldiers recruited into the army. As Mr. H. G. Wells has said : "The armies were millions strong, and behind them entire populations were organised for the supply of food and munitions to the front. There was a cessation of nearly every sort of productive activity except such as contributed to military operations. All the able-bodied manhood of Europe (as also of other countries involved) was drawn into the armies or navies or into the improvised factories that served them. There was an enormous replacement of men by women in industry. Probably more than half the people in the belligerent countries of Europe changed their employment altogether during this stupendous struggle. They were socially uprooted and transplanted. Education and normal scientific work was restricted or diverted to immediate military ends, and the distribution of news was crippled and corrupted by military control and 'propaganda' activities." The physical, mental, moral, and economic strain of this Great War was, in-

1. Flenley and Weech, *World History*, p. 689.

deed, enormous beyond calculation. After twenty years now the World has not yet fully recovered from its effects. Germany and Russia suffered most, and in both the countries there were revolutions—first in Russia, then in Germany. These will be dealt with later.

The War was officially brought to a close on 11 November 1918 by the proclamation of Armistice. Its technical sequel was the Treaty of Versailles, signed on 28 June 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors—just where the Germans had celebrated their triumph in 1871. The innocent Mirrors of Versailles therefore now reflected the inverted image of the Europe of 1871. Versailles was the reverse of which Frankfurt was the obverse. But the French *revanche* was even more terrible and exacting than the Teutonic triumph of the previous century. France had been crippled by Bismarck but not paralysed. The Allies in 1919 sought to lay Germany under such a heavy load of "reparations" that she should never recover from its agonies. Besides territorial losses, they were asked to pay the modest indemnity of £8,000,000,000 as compensation for damage done, including pensions for the crippled and maintenance for the bereaved! "The atmosphere of hate was terrible," declared an eyewitness at the Peace Conference: "*A great moment, but I fear a peace without victory, just as we had a victory without peace.*"¹

Over a thousand delegates, representing more than thirty countries, attended 'this greatest conference in history; only the Germans, Austrians, Bulgars, and Turks were excluded. The terms were 'discussed' with them through circulation of papers, and their plenipotentiaries were called in only to

1. Grant and Temperley, *Europe in the XIX & XX Centuries*, pp. 549-50.

sign the *fait accompli*. The deliberations were throughout dominated by the Big Four : Clemenceau 'the tiger' of France, Lloyd George 'the Shylock' of England, Wilson 'the Moses' of America, and Orlando 'the obscure' of Italy. India was 'represented' by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner 'looking magnificent in a pale khaki turban.' What they accomplished was little better than the achievements of the equally historic (or equally mischievous) Congress of Vienna (1815). They re-drew the map of the world and unsettled its peace. "We are beginning to realise", says Mr. Wells, "that that conflict, terrible and enormous as it was, ended nothing, began nothing, and settled nothing. It killed millions of people ; it wasted and impoverished the world... The Great War lifted the threat of German imperialism from Europe, and shattered the imperialism of Russia. It cleared away a number of monarchies. But a multitude of flags still waves in Europe, the frontiers still exasperate, great armies accumulate fresh stores of equipment."¹

The work of Versailles was a mixture of realism and idealism. The former was represented by Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and the latter by President Wilson of America. The redrawing of the map of the world and reparations were due to the former, and the constitution of a League of Nations was the achievement of the latter. To understand the World To-day it is necessary to say something about both.

The redistribution of territories was partly determined by the promises held out by England and France to their allies, and partly by the principle of nationality. First came the share of the major Powers. England and France shared between them the German colonies in Africa though only as

1. *A Short History of the World*, p. 244.



'mandatory'. France also received Alsace-Lorraine. The Saar valley was to be administered under a 'mandate' of the League of Nations; it reverted to Germany by a *plebiscite* of its people in 1935. On the East, Poland (which had been partitioned between Prussia, Russia, and Austria during the eighteenth century) was reconstituted as an independent state; and a Polish Corridor was created up to Danzig on the Baltic, which port was handed over to the League of Nations. Another new state was created in Bohemia, re-christened Czecko-Slovakia, under its famous leader Mazaryk as first President. Austria and Hungary, considerably reduced in size, became two independent republics; parts of their territories being shared by Italy in the South and the new Balkan States in the East. Serbia and Montenegro combined to form Yugoslavia, and Roumania was enlarged with the addition of Transylvania. Bulgaria lost her hold on the Aegean and became one of the smallest of Balkan States. By agreement between Russia and Germany, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—in the Baltic region—were also constituted independent states. Turkey lost much of her remaining territories in Europe as well as Asia, and the Aegean islands. Though Constantinople was left to her, the Straits were demilitarised and internationalised. 'A dozen independent nations now stretched from the eastern Baltic to the Aegean, a veritable mosaic of states from the empires of Germany, Russia, Austria, and Turkey.'

The Allies had pompously proclaimed during the War that they were waging 'a war to end war' and 'war to vindicate the principle of self-determination.' The League of Nations, with its head-quarters at Geneva, was therefore constituted to maintain these ideals. The principle of nationality was largely given effect to in the reconstitution of states

in Europe ; and where other minorities existed, protection of such minorities was guaranteed to them under the ægis of the League. All disputes were to be settled, not by barbarous warfare as heretofore, but by peaceful arbitration. An International Court had been already set up at the Hague, as early as 1899 ; it was now rehabilitated as the Permanent Court of International Justice. Another important body that was also created was the International Labour Organisation (I. L. O.). It has done much useful work to improve the conditions of labour all over the World. We cannot dwell at length upon these matters here. Though the League of Nations has suffered from the defects of its organisation, its recent failures in the political field, its non-recognition from its very inception by the U. S. A., its defiance by Germany, Japan, and Italy, in the pursuit of their selfish national ambitions, etc., it is too premature in the light of World History to write its epitaph.

Before we conclude this chapter we must, at least briefly, describe the main trends and new strands in the World since the War. In their concrete aspects these relate to Russia, Turkey, Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and India. Other factors and forces may be only incidentally referred to in a brief survey like this.

Russia had grown steadily in importance ever since the time of Peter the Great and Catherine. Alexander I had played a very prominent rôle, in the post-Napoleonic epoch, and with all his faults had been the inspirer of the Holy Alliance to uphold 'Christian principles' in the political relations of European states. He was thus the fore-runner of the Concert of Europe and the League of Nations. The Balkan policy of the Czars had created the Eastern Question which brought Russia into direct political conflict with the Western Powers. Balked by the Crimean War and the

Treaty of Berlin they had turned to 'fresh fields and pastures new', across the tundras of Siberia, in the Far East. There too they came into conflict, as we have seen, with 'the England of the East.' The defeat of the Russian Armada in the Sea of Japan in 1905 drove the Russian bear growling into her own den. This had its own internal repercussions in the shape of portentous risings which were to culminate in the Red Revolution of 1917-18.

Russia had to pay a very heavy price for her participation in the Great War. She had, it will be remembered, taken up the sword on behalf of Serbia in 1914. In spite of her earlier victories against Germany and Austria, the War entailed such sufferings and strain at home that, her domestic malcontents created a revolution. The history of the Bourbons now repeated itself with the Romanoffs, Nicolas II and Alexandra playing the rôle of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The 'morning star' of this Revolution was Carl Marx, as that of the French Revolution had been Rousseau; its Danton was Lenin, its Jacobins the Bolsheviki. To cut a long story short, on 25 October 1917 the Socialist Soviet Republic was proclaimed by the Communists under the leadership of Nicolai Lenin. Petrograd has become Leningrad.

With the death of Lenin in 1924 Russian Communism entered a new phase. A terrible duel ensued between Trotsky the Jew and Stalin the Georgian for the Dictatorship over the Proletariat (workers, soldiers, and peasants). After five years' struggle the Jewish journalist was ousted by Stalin ('the man of steel') in 1929. Trotsky, now an exile from Russia, stands for a World Revolution; Stalin stands for the preliminary consolidation of the Revolution within Russia. While the idealist revolutionary is roaming abroad, the practical revolutionary is transforming Russia (through

a series of Five-Year Plans), so as 'to catch up and surpass the capitalist countries' in industrial progress.

The sudden transformation of an Old World people, a transformation even more radical and surprising than that of the Japanese, as a result of the new forces released by the Great War, is best illustrated by the birth of New Turkey. Like Russia, old Turkey had collapsed during the War. The price she had to pay for her defeat was the Treaty of Sevres (1920) which threatened to virtually wipe out 'the sick man' with only the ghost of the Sultan kept alive. The challenge of this disaster was taken up by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, leader of the Young Turk movement (which had started before the War), who organised a National Pact 'to win or be wiped out', and, at the end of one of the most sanguinary yet heroic struggles recorded in human history, created a New Turkey out of the ashes of the old. The Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) but gave international validity to an established fact when it recognised the Turkish Republic with Kemal Pasha as its President.

Kemal had begun as a rebel on whose head the nominal Sultan had placed a price; he has lived to become the Dictator and abolished root and branch the entire old order represented by the Sultan (who was also the Caliph). The Caliphate was extinguished in March 1924 by the Turkish National Assembly, and since then Turkey has completely cut herself from her Oriental moorings. The substitution of the hat for the fez, and the Roman script for the Arabic are but outward marks of an inward change which the Ata Turk has brought about under his Dictatorship. In short, Turkey has been converted in the course of a decade, from being an atrophied Asiatic people, into a progressive and dynamic modern state.

The next momentous change in the post-War world has

been manifested in the creation of the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy. The Kernel of this new order has been Benito Mussolini. It is beyond our scope to attempt anything more than a bare summary of his work and policy. Exploiting the acute discontent in Italy after the War, Signor Mussolini—the son of a blacksmith, who had successively been a school-master, journalist and socialist—led a successful march on Rome, in October 1922, and captured power for his party which was called the *Fascisti*. Il Duce, as Mussolini is called in Italy, is the head of the Fascist Grand Council which rules the country in the name of the King, but really under the command of the Dictator. Mussolini has revived in his country the ambitions and spirit of ancient Rome and set the feet of his countrymen on the road to imperial glory, though in doing so he has upset the peace of the World. His conquest of Abyssinia (1935) and interference in the Civil War being still waged in Spain indicate the trend of his foreign policy. Internally he has achieved enough unity, efficiency, and prosperity to hypnotise his people into acquiescence with both his Dictatorship at home and his chauvinism abroad.

Germany, the principal author and victim of the Great War, could not also escape from its worst effects, political as well as economic. In the welter of reactions that followed, the Kaiser fled the country, and Deutschland became a Republic. A democratic constitution was drawn up at Weimar in February 1919, and Ebert (a sadler) elected first President. But the internal collapse of Germany was so complete that under the external pressure of the ruthless reparations she could not recover stability without a revolution. The great economic depression of 1929 found her in the nadir of her fall. Unemployment rose to fearful proportions. Out of the several competing solutions to this

crisis the National-Socialism of Herr Hitler (son of an Austrian customs-collector) proved the most efficient. The Nazi party in Germany, drawing its inspiration from the Fascist party in Italy, launched another Dictatorship in Central Europe (1933) which with its Teutonic thoroughness has startled the world even more violently than any other *coup* in history. In the course of these five years it has wrenched Germany out of the rut into which the victorious Allies had cast her at Versailles ; it has defiantly rescued the Germans from the paralysis of enforced disarmament ; it has created enormous employment in industry, agriculture, and armaments ; it has reoccupied the forbidden districts of the Rhineland, repudiated the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, absorbed Austria into the Reich by a most astounding stratagem, and threatened other neighbouring states with German populations, like Czecko-Slovakia, with a similar fate. Anti-French, anti-Communist, and above all anti-Semitic, the Nazi Dictator has promulgated the new doctrine of 'Nordic superiority' which threatens to engulf Europe—and the rest of the World—in a more cataclysmic struggle than the Kaiser had found feasible. The tentacles of the German eagle have already bound Italy and Japan in the ominous grip of an Anti-Comintern Pact. Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo, seem at present to enclose within a triangle the peace of the World. The *swastika* adopted by the neo-Aryans of Germany has become a truculent symbol of war instead of 'peace on earth and good-will among men.'

Turkey, Italy, and Germany have not been the only countries to pass under Dictatorships in the post-War world. The economic depression on the one hand, and the fear of external aggression on the other, and the universal menace of Communism in particular, have tended to drive country after country into some form of authoritarian rule, either

peacefully established as in Poland and Czecko-Slovakia, or violently created as in Greece and Spain. These two last-named countries are still in the throes of either occasional eruptions as in Greece, or interminable civil war as in Spain. The latter country, invaded by General Franco from Morocco in 1936, has been the battle ground, ever since, of a virtual struggle for ascendancy between the forces of Socialism and Fascism, on account of the patently surreptitious support given to the two contending parties by their sympathisers all over Europe. It is only a question of time as to when this localised conflict will burst through the camouflage into a universal conflagration. The race for armaments among the Powers is an ominous petrel of the coming storm. Meanwhile the atmosphere is surcharged with the psychology of 'war and rumours of war.'

The vast and rapid changes that were taking place in the East since about the middle of the last century were also now bearing fruit. China after the Boxer Revolt (1900), Japan after the Russo-Japanese War (1905), and India after the Partition of Bengal (1905), were all different from what they had been for centuries past. They were undergoing rapid transformation along Western and Nationalistic lines; and each in its own way was not merely breaking with its own past, but also becoming impatient of Western domination. It is not surprising that the emulation of the West has increasingly bred a dislike of European interference; the former is itself the cause of the latter. "There is no more amazing or portentous phenomenon in modern history," says Will Durant, "than the way in which sleeping Japan, roughly awakened by the cannon of the West, leaped to the lesson, bettered the instruction, accepted science, industry and war, defeated all her competitors either in battle or in trade, and became, within two generations, the most aggressive nation

in the contemporary world.”¹ Japan is but the spear-head of Asia.

When England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, and the U. S. A., all combined together to crush the Boxer Revolt in China, and imposed on her an indemnity of \$330,000,000, and later remitted most of this indemnity on condition that it shall be spent on educating the youth of China in the countries that made the generous gesture, they laid the foundations of Modern China. The Revolution of 1912, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, the abdication of the Celestial Manchu Emperor Pú Yi; and the establishment of the Chinese Republic were the first fruits of the new awakening. But the sorrows of China were far from being ended thereby. Her *Tuchuns* still continued to divide and distract the country. Russian communist propaganda, after 1922, added a fresh principle of discord. The dictatorship of Chang Kai-shek was the ultimate solution that China in her distress evolved in order to save herself. For now a greater danger than that of the European Powers was looming on her Eastern shore, viz., Japan. Sun Yat-sen had planned to ally China and Japan in their common revolt against the West; but Japan discovered in China's helplessness just the quarry she needed for exploitation under the spell of her recent developments. During the Great War she had allied herself with England and pounced upon the German possessions in China. Then she also pressed upon China her notorious 'Twenty-one Demands' which if conceded would have reduced that country to a Japanese dependency. The Chinese boycott movement and the protests of the Western Powers saved the situation for the time being. At the Washington Conference in 1922 the 'open door'

1. *The Story of Civilization*, II, p. 913,

policy was reaffirmed. But Japan, smarting under this frustration and awaiting a better opportunity, invaded Manchuria in 1931 in open defiance of the Washington declaration and the Nine-Power Pact. She wriggled out of the League of Nations on account of its protest against this violation, and set up Pú Yi (the Manchu Emperor dethroned by the Chinese in 1912) as her puppet 'Emperor' on the throne of Manchuria, renamed *Manchukuo*. She had already taken Korea and called it *Chosen*. The present Sino-Japanese War (1937—) is a sequel of the above described trends in the Far East. The Japanese imperialism of to-day was anticipated in an Imperial announcement written in the autumn of 1916 :—

"China is our steed!" it ran. "Far shall we ride upon her!... So becomes our 50,000,000 race 500,000,000 strong; so grow our paltry hundreds of millions of gold into billions!...

"We are now well astride our steed, China; but the steed has long run wild and is run down; it needs grooming, more grain, more training. Further, our saddle and bridle are as yet mere make-shifts; would steed and trappings stand the strain of war?....

"But using China as our steed, should our first goal be the land? India? Or the Pacific, the sea that must be our very own, even as the Atlantic is now England's. The land is tempting and easy, but withal dangerous... It must therefore be the sea."¹

The awakening in India described in the previous chapter received a fresh impetus in the course of the present century on account of several events of world importance. The first of these was the Japanese victory which synchro-

1. H. G. Franks, *The Riddle of the Orient*, pp. 31-2.

nised with the 'partition' of Bengal. "The reverberations of that victory," Lord Curzon himself said, "have gone like a thunderclap through the whispering galleries of the East." It created a new self-confidence among the politically conscious people all over Asia. Under the circumstances the partition of Bengal cut like a deep wound which aroused national feeling from one end of the country to another, though it directly touched only the people of Bengal. The constructive nationalism of the Congress was driven by it into more radical channels. Though a temporary split occurred in the ranks of the nationalists on account of this extremism, from 1907 to 1916, not only were the two sections brought together in the Lucknow session of the Congress, but even the Muslim League which had stood aloof until then came in to form a new coalition. The inadequacy of the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 had given rise to much discontent. It was not allayed by Their Majesties' visit to India and the restoration of the integrity of Bengal (1911). India made whole-hearted sacrifices during the Great War in men, money, and materials with great expectations about the future. But the events that followed after the British triumph deepened India's distrust in the good faith of her foreign masters. Even the moderates of earlier years turned extremists in the post-War period in India. The new trend was personified in Mahatma Gandhi who transformed the Indian National Congress from a supplicating body into a revolutionary organisation, though the methods he inculcated were non-violent. The weapon of 'passive resistance' which he had forged in upholding the self-respect of the Indian community in South Africa, was now elaborated into the Non-co-operation movement of 1921, and ultimately developed into the more active 'civil disobedience' campaign of 1931. The Montague-Chelmsford

reforms of 1919 only served to whet the national appetite for a greater advance towards responsible government. The frustration of these hopes even drove some to agitate for complete independence instead of mere 'dominion status.' The pace being thus forced by the progressive intensification of the national demand, India has now reached the threshold of a Federation of autonomous provinces. This is the scope of the Reform Act of 1935. The future of India hangs on the future of Asia and the World. The fate of Humanity itself is now in the keeping of its statesmen.

"To-day," wrote Mr. S. S. McClure in the *London Times* on 15 January 1921, "the white race occupies not only Europe, but North and South America and Australia, and rules ninety-seven per cent. of Africa and nearly half of Asia, and the most important fact to-day is the coming struggle between the forces of colour and the white race." On 26 February of the same year, the *Argus* of Melbourne wrote editorially : "This is the huge question that is really before the peacemakers. Can they find out some new way of life between West and East, some way different from the two-thousand-year-old way of warfare? All other wars—even the Great War just finished—become parochial squabbles compared with this war. When it comes, if it comes, it will have all the horrors of modern science in its hands, and all the weight of the ancient forces of history at its back. Can it then be avoided? Can the wise men of America and Japan, of Britain and the British Empire, of Asia and Europe, not find some other way out?" The answer is yet to be given.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Know that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.—IBN KHALDUN

The survey of Human History that we set out to make in this brief volume is now at an *end* without being *complete*. In the *Approach* we visualised that 'There is such a phenomenon as Progress ; call it culture, civilisation, or by any other name.' We understood this to mean that 'there may be setbacks here and there, or retrogression now and again, in the long course of human history. But with all these, Man has evolved out of the brute-creation. He has risen above the mere animal. He has ever toiled to make his lot better than his inheritance in every age. And whatever may be his ultimate Destiny, an eternal urge keeps him striving after Utopias. The Vision beckons and recedes before our faltering steps. Yet Faith keeps us steadfast on the thorny upward path.' 'This,' we characterised, 'is one of the fundamental human traits which are universally true.'

Beginning with the *First Steps*, some 50,000 years or so ago, we have come down the millennia, to the *World To-day*. Is this long procession of the human race without any meaning or significance for us ? There is at least one *fact* in all this which no one can deny, namely, 'While it took millions

of years for Nature to bring man into existence, the dynamic intelligence of man (*homo sapiens*) has transformed life on earth so tremendously in the course of a few millennia which constitute the sum of human history.' Secondly, we have pointed to the conclusion that 'Man has remained the same through all the varying conditions of life'; that "Our knowledge of him in the twentieth century A.D. may be fuller and more intimate than our knowledge of him in the twentieth century B.C., but that makes no difference in his fundamental character.' For, 'He is still the intelligent and inventive brute that he was 500,000 (or 50-, or 20-, or 2,000) years ago : affectionate at home, jealous of his neighbour, ferocious in war, and ruthless when his selfish instincts are roused ; but noble and progressive on the whole, with a marvellous organising capacity, which has made him master on earth over animate and inanimate creation alike.' Finally, we said, 'World History is but a recalling of this wonderful creature's doings, his struggles, achievements and failures in the past, that they might instruct his present, and bear fruit in his future.' That is why the Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun, wrote : 'Know that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.'

If by 'science' we mean *a systematised body of knowledge*, we need not quarrel over the description of History as a *science*. That History is 'abounding in instruction' may not also be denied ; Carlyle found in it 'philosophy taught through examples.' Though different readers may find material for different philosophies in human history, the fundamental 'science of History' (i.e. an intelligible presentation of the Past) is 'noble in its conception' and 'exalted in its aim'. Occasionally we might come across a cynic who opines that 'History teaches but one lesson : *man has learnt no*

lessons from history' (or even that 'history has no lessons to teach'). But, despite such exceptional philosophers, *experience* is a great teacher (may be sometimes an unsuccessful teacher); and History is a record of the accumulated experience of our race. Our aim in this little volume has been only 'to hold the mirror up to the whole pageant of man's life ... in all parts of our planet, in all ages and climes, to the extent that space will permit.' Lest the mirror might get choked with images, we confined our choice in the foregoing pages to the 'significant.' In this concluding part of our survey we must assess the significance of our selection,—still hoping that we may have 'raised the curtain on a scene in the drama which I have found extremely engaging.'

In reviewing human *Progress in Antiquity* we observed that 'The history of man is an account of ... inventions pertaining to his material as well as spiritual wants,' and also that 'The two are inseparable.' We found the secret of man's superiority over all other creatures in his 'inventive intelligence' which has been the cause of all his progress. Within the limits of his 'powers of organisation' man has shown himself to be 'the master of his destiny' and 'the potential lord of the earth and nature.' His civilisation has comprised the 'multiplication and refinement of wants.' These 'wants' have been in relation to his body, mind, 'heart' or 'spirit,' all of which together constitute his 'personality.' The satisfaction of the needs of human personality has constituted the primary urge which in the course of long ages has evolved cultures or civilisation.¹

1 We shall use the term *Culture* to denote a particular type like 'Greek Culture' or 'Hindu Culture'; and the term *Civilisation* to denote the general progress of the Human Race as a whole.

Two important elements have determined the course of civilisation : (a) Man ; (b) Environment. The variation in the two factors accounts for the variations in cultures. The different races of mankind (like Aryan, Semitic, Mongolian, Negro, etc.) have displayed different aptitudes for culture ; consequently, each of them has evolved a culture of its own. Thus the Aryan has differed from the Semitic, and both from the Mongolian ; the Negro has been the least progressive. On the other hand, geographical or physical environment has equally influenced the course and character of people's progress. This includes the fertility of soil, the nearness of rivers and the sea, climate, vegetation and natural resources like minerals, building materials, etc. Especially in the earlier stages of human civilisation these were more decisive factors than they are now.

A culture once developed in a particular environment has undergone considerable modification by contact with other cultures ; such contacts being determined by the means of communication. The earliest means of communication were rivers. The sea or ocean which was at first a dividing factor later became a uniting link between distantly situated countries, on account of the progressive improvement of navigation. Even vast continents in modern times have been traversed by railways. The latest contrivance for the abridgment of long distances is the airship. Telegraphs, deep-sea cables, and the radio, have converted our world into a close-knit sphere. This has led to the domination of weaker cultures by the stronger, as well as resulted in a rapid process of elimination of differences, producing a greater uniformity of civilisation.

Nations like individuals have their own peculiarities. They tend to preserve their special features, even as individuals seek to preserve their personalities. But in our inter-depen-

dent world these inclinations create conflicts, just as the egoisms of individuals lead to inharmonious relations in society. Humanity is at present striving to reconcile its international disharmonies, in the same way as it has integrated individuals into families, communities, and nations. In the earlier stages of civilisation individuals or at best families or clans were left to themselves in securing justice. This license continued almost down to the dawn of modern times. Then they were all reduced to subjection to a common law. Vendetta can no longer settle domestic or municipal disputes ; the days of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Montagues and Capulets are gone. Is it similarly possible to compel and habituate nations to the reign of international law instead of national vendetta ? Evidently the human race has not yet been civilised to that height of regulated conduct. Will it ever be ? The answer will depend on our capacity to assimilate the lessons of universal history.

A careful survey of human history unravels to our vision the two vistas of achievements and failures. Deeper analysis will indicate that man has been able to subdue his environment more readily than his own primitive instincts. The material comforts provided by modern civilisation are evidence of the former ; the crimes of both individuals and nations are proofs of the latter. It is this contrast between the outer and inner aspects of our civilisation that has induced some thinkers to question its benefits and blessings.¹ At times one really feels as if our civilisation is only the thin veneer of incorrigible barbarians. Beneath the polish of even the most advanced peoples in the modern world

1. Edward Carpenter wrote a book on *Civilisation : Its Cause and Cure*.

there is an elemental savageness which manifests itself in epidemic form during periods of war, but is scarcely hidden even in times of peace. This description of the *facts* of life need make us neither pessimistic nor optimistic. There is room in the perspective of World History to be more sanguine about the future of our race than the face of contemporary experience seems to warrant; but at the same time, the incorrigibility of human nature in certain matters should put a curb on the boundless optimism of idealists. To appreciate to which side the balance tilts, it is necessary to carefully garner the grain of our grand survey.

If we do not question the scientific conclusions of anthropologists, Man, in the process of evolution, emerged from ape ancestors. To arrive at this astounding *anthropos*, in the biological laboratory of Nature, it took the Creator countless ages of experiment. Among His discarded relics are the "missing links" who seem to have been only tentative products before *homo sapiens* arrived. Then followed the pre-historic period of man's education up to his learning, or rather discovering, the art of writing by some Montessori method or a divine Dalton plan. Once language was mastered (both spoken and written), this precocious child of Nature made rapid progress. Indeed, man's progress has been increasingly rapid since then. Even before the Christian era, he had achieved the marvels of Egyptology, Assyriology, and the more recently unravelled mysteries of Indology. Towards the close of this long epoch he worked the miracle of Greek culture, and left to posterity the rich legacies of India, Greece, and Rome, no less than those of Egypt, Babylonia, and Israel. Without repeating all that we have set down in greater detail before, we might assess here the net contributions of these cultures to human civilisation. We need consider only a few typical or rather fateful dis-

coveries which have influenced human destiny for good and evil.

First among these are the products of the Nile and Indus valleys. The former created standards of comfort and decency never before known to pre-historic man ; the latter gave to the world its first lessons in rational town-planning and city-life, on which indeed civilisation is based. Assyria and Persia set our feet on the dangerous paths of war and imperialism along lines attempted by none before them, though copied and improved upon by others in later times. The Chinese invented above all else, the mariner's compass, gun-powder, and the printing-press ; the first brought the European into their country, the second enabled mankind to destroy itself, and the third made a world-renaissance possible. Finally, in the world of antiquity, India revealed her genius for metaphysics and religions, thereby enabling a Schopenhauer to die in peace and her own children to remain under foreign yoke retaining for themselves the proud privilege of having produced the first Prince of Peace for the edification of the pugnacious Mongolian race. Greece and Rome, though chronologically belonging to the ancient world, *logically* belong to our own. The only other people of antiquity that we need comment upon here, are the Israelites, who,—while Egypt worshipped her multitude of quaint gods, India rejected her Buddha in preference for her own metaphysics and religions, China accepted the exiled ethic of India to add to her own Confucianism, and Iran was engrossed in the eternal duel between Ahura and Ahriman,—replaced the confused vacancy of the Western mind with the coherent theology of a humanised and unified god. Such was the World into which Greece and Rome stepped.

It is not easy to summarise the Greek contributions to human civilisation, for the ancient Greeks were the most

versatile people of antiquity. Their literature, art, and philosophy are still alive and active. "In spite of many differences," as Livingstone has said, "no age has had closer affinities with Ancient Greece than our own; none has based its deeper life so largely on ideals which the Greeks brought into the world." We need not search for any specific facts out of the Greek creations to illustrate this; we have rather to appreciate Matthew Arnold's observations about Sophocles: The Greeks were a people who 'saw life steadily and saw it whole;' their 'even balanced Soul, business could not make dull nor passion wild.' A deep earnestness leading to scientific experimentalism was their greatest gift to posterity. As we have said before, "They had a passion for perfection. Truth, Beauty, Goodness were for them synonymous. They tried to realise these in the individual, as well as in Society. The harmonious cultivation of body, mind and soul was their ideal. For this they held their athletic competitions; for this they made endless experiments in political organisation; and for this they built up their Academy and Lyceum.' What has been said about their art is equally true about their outlook on life as a whole: "The idealism of the Greek artist consisted in getting the very best he could from nature and putting it together in the most beautiful way."

The Romans were differently constituted. "While it was the Greek genius which, in its latter days, rose to conceptions of the unity of humanity," writes Professor E. Barker, "it was the Roman genius which translated those conceptions . . . into an organised system of life." The Roman had a passion and gift for organisation. As Virgil sang:

Thou, Roman, shalt remember how to rule,
Lay down the laws of Peace, and teach her ways,
Pardon the fallen, overthrow the proud.

This was what the Roman—through Republic and Empire

—aimed at and achieved. Though his language (Latin) occupies to this day a classical seat by the side of Greek, and though the Romance languages (Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and French) bear witness to its widespread influence, the particular legacy of Rome to the modern World was her “unparalleled system of law and justice.” As Professor Hearnshaw has summarised: ‘She established a world peace; she linked her vast dominions together by a network of splendid roads; she maintained an unparalleled system of law and justice; she developed an extensive commerce; she erected in all her provinces magnificent public works; she preserved the culture of the Hellenic East; she educated the barbarians of the Celtic West; . . . fused barbarians and Greeks into a single polity; brought East and West together, and impressed upon the civilised world a consciousness of unity which even to the present day has never been wholly lost.’ Rome, in short, tried to do for the Ancient World what Britain has attempted to do in the modern. The tradition of the Roman Empire has been always a living force in Europe. ‘Alike in literature, in art, in philosophy, and in religion,’ Asquith has observed, ‘Rome built the bridge over which many of the best thoughts and finest models of antiquity found their way into the Medieval and thence into the Modern World.’ The fascist idealism of Mussolini’s Italy is the latest product of the Roman inspiration.

When the Roman Empire was deluged by the barbarian hordes, of Attila the Hun and Alaric the Goth, Rome bequeathed to Europe Constantinople and Christianity. The former proved to be the Eastern bulwark of European civilisation and the latter remained the only civilising force in the midst of an all-devouring paganism; though ultimately, Constantinople succumbed to the Turks and Christian Europe was swallowed by the new paganism of modern times.

The barbarians, while they destroyed much that was untenable in the older civilisation, also invigorated Europe with fresh blood and ideas. Amidst the 'encircling gloom' of the Dark Ages 'The City of God' not merely endured but also tamed and humanised the savages. The Moors, Aristotle, Latin, the See of St. Peter, and the monastic orders, prevented Europe from lapsing into utter barbarism; while feudalism, the Knight-errantry of the Crusades, the medieval gilds, and the widespread trade and intercourse proved the veritable seeds of Europe's liberation from the shackles of the past. Both the spirit of localism bred by the manor and the gild, as well as the universalism of the Church and commerce, were to yield place to the larger parochialism of nation-states and the greater unity of our modern interdependent world. Dynasticism was the parent of the former and Renaissance the harbinger of the latter. Indeed, as we remarked before, the Present is the child of the Past and the parent of the Future.

Dynastic monarchism, the product and preserver of the Old Order, could not preserve itself from the products of the New Order. Both the Pope and the Potentates, the erstwhile rivals for ascendancy in medieval Europe, found new rivals in the Protestant movements and the rise of the democratic spirit. There was a dual revolt: one against the autocracy of the medieval Church, the other against the autocracy of the equally medieval-minded monarchy. The ferment that heralded the birth of our new world, however, has remained with us as a permanent invigorating (or is it inebriating?) element to leaven modern life. Many things have gone into its brew, out of which we may single out only a few of the most important ingredients. In brief, the spirit of exploration and discovery, the spirit of experimentalism and earnest enquiry, unfettered by tradition or authority,

outwardly released by the Renaissance, but inwardly due to the entire complex process of History, has been the outstanding characteristic of our Modern Age. This has given a death-blow to all old-world ideas and institutions, imparted a rude shock to conservative inclinations, and produced the go-ahead reck-nothing do-and-dare mentality, which might have appeared too adventurous even to the ancient Greeks. In this maelstrom of new life much of the old has been dislodged, if not destroyed ; much also has been reconstructed and transformed beyond recognition. Unless we are able to appreciate this trend as a whole, we shall not be able to understand the significance of the mere facts and events of modern history. Church and Monarchy have therefore been but partners in sharing the reactions of this all-sided change, even as they were partners in the reactionary tendencies that opposed all change unless it was initiated by themselves.

First, the Protestant revolt not only released religious thought from the routine ruts of the Roman Church, but it also produced the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation movement which became a constructive force giving to the world the excellent disciplined army of workers constituting the Society of Jesus. Secondly, the growing commerce of Europe, its accidental clash with the Turks, and the consequent diversion of trade-routes, gave the Europeans a new and vaster world in which to expand. This in its turn created national rivalries which stimulated, not merely destructive jealousies and wars, but also creative and constructive activities. The Industrial Revolution in England was the product of these forces.

The old inventive instinct or intelligence of man, sharpened by centuries of experience and stimulated by the urge of a new life with its insistent needs, produced a harvest of novel

implements, tools, machinery, sufficient to upset and revolutionise the entire economy of human civilisation. Some of these inventions we have already referred to in the course of our survey ; a little more may be said about them here.

Life in the ancient and even medieval times was simpler, in that its organisation was less intricate than it is now. With increased complexity has also come better organising ability which has made man more powerful for construction no less than destruction. The secret of this power, for good and evil, is summed up in the magical word 'Science.' It is exercising over modern man the same influence that magic did over the ancient and medieval. Having its roots deep down in the Past, Science has come into its very own in our times.

In studying the significance of this most vital force in the modern world we must distinguish between Pure science and Applied science. Reserving the former for later comment, we shall first deal with the latter ; for Pure science concerns the intellectual few, while Applied science has affected the lives of all. Applied science is Science in relation to practical life. It is the 'science of tools' or 'technology' which began with the inventions of the palæolithic man and still continues to transform the earth and human life in a most wonderful manner. Its first marvel was revealed in the mechanical inventions devised by Heron, the Alexandrian mathematician of the first century A.D., and its potentialities disclosed by the genius of Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century A.D. The versatility of Leonardo has been referred to before. 'Architect, sculptor, painter and engineer,' as Mr. Marvin has said, 'no one exhibits more clearly in his own person the intimate connexion between actual constructive work and the imaginative use of the mind. He devised himself some good dozen of inventions which have since

become popular and useful—pumps, ship-logs, power-looms and many others, and, from the flight of birds, designed a flying machine which in his hands remained a sketch. The same brain worked, too, in studying the anatomy of animals, the traces and meaning of fossils, the laws of motion and their relation to sound and light The practical work, on which he chiefly lived, was that needed by the rulers and people of his day—great hydraulic and irrigation works in Lombardy, fortifications for Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan . . . Besides his engineering achievements in fortification, he is credited with the invention of a submarine boat and a breech-loading cannon. Such intermixture of constructive work with the planned destruction of human life has gone on so far throughout the course of history.'

The above sketch of Leonardo da Vinci correctly depicts the entire range and character of technology in the Modern World. What we witness in the world to-day is but the logical development of the Italian's anticipations. To know more about these developments one has to go to special histories on the subject, like *The Endless Quest* by F. W. Westaway. In addition to the inventions of the Chinese (mariner's compass, gun-powder, paper and the printing-press), and the textile and locomotive engines, referred to earlier, we might mention only a few more scientific achievements here to illustrate the above remarks. The operation of all kinds of machinery for all varieties of purposes became easy on account of the discovery, first of steam-power, and then of electricity. The American Franklin, the Italian Volta, and the British Faraday, by their investigations regarding electrical phenomena made the telegraph possible in 1835. The first under-sea cable was laid between England and France in 1851. The discovery of the 'Hertzian Waves,' or electric vibrations in ether, introduced the wireless with

which we are now familiar. Now the world is looking forward to becoming as familiar with 'television.' The discovery of the X-ray, by the German Röntgen in 1895, has enabled surgeons to see through a living body and observe its innermost operations, while the use of anæsthetics (e.g. chloroform) has revolutionised surgical practice. These striking discoveries of modern science, taken almost at random, should suffice to focus the reader's attention upon this phase of recent human history which has revolutionised our lives to an extent and in a manner never dreamed of before by man in the long ages of his evolution.

Rather than attempt even a bare summary of the vast and varied achievements of Science, it will be more worthwhile to gauge their significance in human history. Theoretically, man, in the beginning of his career was faced with the double problem of understanding himself and his vast and overwhelming environment; in practice, he had to master his own personality within and subdue the forces of Nature without. The history of Philosophy is one long record of persistent human striving to apprehend Reality or the meaning of life and existence; while the history of Science is one long record of man's continued effort to gain control over the same. In the Modern Age both our knowledge regarding ourselves (physically, mentally, spiritually), and our knowledge regarding the Universe in which we live, is the richest ever attained by men. Likewise, our command of all the rich resources of our material existence is the completest ever exercised by *homo sapiens* on earth. The world in which we live, with all its comforts, complexities, and problems, is the map or index of our accumulated heritage. It is obvious that the future of our race will depend upon what use we make of this inheritance. The problem of problems to-day is to master the technological forces created

by Science, and harness them to the *service*, instead of the *destruction*, of Humanity. "A new gigantic material framework for human affairs," as Mr. H. G. Wells has observed, "has come into existence. Clearly it demands great readjustments of our social, economical, and political methods."

In comparing Europe and Asia, with regard to their respective contributions to world civilisation, we had emphasised that, although we are accustomed to draw a contrast between them, '*Man, the universally progressive creature, is the one subject of World History.*' There is no East and West here, 'nor border nor breed.' 'Europe may be his workshop and Asia his dormitory for the time-being; but time was when the reverse was the case. The Sun may shine on only one side of the globe at a time; but no part of the earth is left in darkness for ever.' Hence, in our rapid survey, we have not thought in terms of continents or countries merely, but more in terms of Humanity as a whole. In the words of Lord Acton (quoted earlier), Universal History is 'distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of soul. It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary.' Their story has been, therefore, told here 'not for their own sake, but in reference and subordination to a higher series, according to the time and the degree in which they have contributed to the common fortunes of mankind.'

The bifurcation of the World into Europe and Asia is as untenable as the old assignment of its two hemispheres between Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI. This Kiplingian dichotomy of

East is East and West is West
And ne'er the twain shall meet

ought to give place to the truth that

East plus West
Is much the Best.

In spite of all its apparent conflicts and divisions this is the New Vision of Man that is striving for realisation in the World to-day. The First Steps in civilisation taken by Africa and Asia led on to the marvellous creative activity of Europe. But now it appears that the Oriental '*Conquest of Civilisation*' has culminated in the Occidental '*Ordeal of Civilisation*'—to use the phraseology of Breasted and Robinson. However, there could be little doubt that the World to be must be the creation of a united effort of Humanity as a whole; for Integration—not dis-integration—has been the dominant tendency of Universal History. From Palæolithic man to our times the World has become increasingly inter-dependent: waves might break and rivers may run dry, but the ocean cannot be split into puddles.

What the ancients perhaps dimly perceived is now being laboriously but accurately verified. Herein lies the significance of Pure science which is hardly to be distinguished from Philosophy. In essence, the problem of both is identical: it is Man's attempt to understand Life, to master all its complexities, and to attain the Platonic ideal of Truth, Beauty, Goodness. The East, particularly India, sought to realise these primarily through intuition, meditation, and the mystic ways of religion. The West, following the pragmatic path of Science, aimed at the same ideal and came by its materialistic civilisation. At the present moment the subjective Idealism of Asia and the objective Realism of Europe, meeting in apparent conflict, are engaged in producing the synthesis of a new Universalism.

Viewed in the perspective of Man's history from the very

beginning, this is the reality behind our contemporary struggles. Being engrossed each in his own part of the problem we seem to have lost sight of the whole. Like individual soldiers in a campaign we are obsessed with our own immediate and fragmentary pre-occupations. Fighting for a ditch here or a fence there appears to us the only purpose of our existence ; and it is not wrong that it should be so. But the campaign is that of Humanity ; our objectives are Truth, Beauty, Goodness. In the long course of our history we have not lost sight of our Goal, except partially and occasionally. We are not to be content with the mere intellectual appreciation of this tripple ideal, but we must translate it into the facts of life for all mankind. In the past ages Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, have been the dream of the many, but the possession of only a few—individuals or small groups. The aim of the Modern World is to make them universal.

Science has established to-day the unity of our existence—e.g., Newton by his discovery of the universality of gravitation, Darwin by his theory of evolution, Einstein by his contemplation of a space-time continuum, other scientists by their observation of radio-activity suggesting that matter is electricity. This is a more definite and demonstrable apprehension of the Truth vaguely and intuitively visualised by the World's earliest monists (like our own Vedantists). The latent Beauty of our Universe was first dimly perceived by primitive man. It aroused in him his æsthetic instinct and a craving for artistic expression and satisfaction. The history of art and literature on the one hand, and, on the other, the larger attempts made in modern society to impart a touch of beauty to everything concerning human life as a whole—not only for the elite—are the ideals of Beauty. While the history of "humanity"—at first the fruit of individual

virtue, but increasingly being collectively organised for 'the greatest good of the greatest number'—comprises mankind's realisation of Goodness. This is the meaning of the entire process of Human History in all its phases—intellectual, social, moral, political, æsthetic and economical. For this is the Science of History regarded 'noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.'

EPILOGUE

Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity. —SHELLEY

We may not conclude this *Brief Survey of Human History* without pointing out its limitations. We had started on this great task with the ambition 'to hold the mirror up to the whole pageant of man's life, and not merely to chronicle his political career.' We had said that 'Political history may form the basis, or rather supply the bony skeleton of our treatment, but it must be clothed with the flesh and blood of all-sided human activity, and animated by the indefatigable aspirations of man.' If the accomplishment has been less than this aspiration, the Reader will not also forget that Life is larger, deeper, greater, than even the most voluminous History can envisage. Hence we had necessarily, inevitably, to confine our attention to what appeared to be the most 'significant'—though the choice of the *significant* must vary with the point-of-view of each writer of History. As Macaulay said : 'History has its foreground and its background, and it is principally in the management of its perspective that one artist differs from another. Some events must be represented on a large scale, others diminished ; the great majority will be lost in the dimness of the horizon, and a general idea of their joint effect must be given by a few light touches.' But this is not without advantage. For, as Lamartine put it, 'Providence conceals itself in the details of human affairs, but becomes unveiled in the generalities of

history.' We have proceeded on the assumption of Samuel Butler that 'Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises' : it cannot be otherwise. 'The best thing which we derive from history,' Goethe said, 'is the enthusiasm it raises in us.' Dr. Johnson found its justification in the argument that : 'The present state of things is the consequence of the past ; and it is natural to enquire as to the sources of the good we enjoy or the evils we suffer. If we act only for ourselves, to neglect the study of history is not prudent ; if intrusted with the care of others, it is not just.' With all our omissions which, though inevitable, have been many and large, we have written with the motto so well formulated by Napoleon that 'An historian ought to be exact, sincere, and impartial ; free from passion, unbiassed by interest, fear, resentment, or affection ; and faithful to the truth, which is the mother of history, the preserver of great actions, the enemy of oblivion, the witness of the past, the direction of the future.'

'Life,' as Wordsworth wrote, 'is divided into three terms : that which was, which is, and which will be. Let us learn from the past to profit by the present, and from the present to live better for the future.'

CHRONOLOGY

SECTION FOUR

A.D.

- 871—901 Alfred the Great.
968 Hugh Capet.
1066—87 William the Conqueror.
1108—37 Louis VI.
1154—1204 Angevins in France.
1155—89 Henry II (England).
1180—1223 Philippe II (France).
1199—1216 King John of *Magna Carta*.
1226—70 (Saint) Louis IX.
1272—1307 Edward I.
1295 Model Parliament.
1301 Philippe IV (France) rejects secular authority of
the Pope.
1327—77 Edward III.
1338—1453 Hundred Years' War.
1348 Black Death.
1368—1644 Ming Dynasty.
1378—1417 Babylonish Captivity.
1381 Peasant's Revolt.
1413—22 Henry V.
1415 Battle of Agincourt.
1429 Joan of Arc takes Orleans.
1450 The English expelled from Normandy.
1453 Constantinople captured by Turks.
1455—85 Wars of the Roses.
1461—88 Louis XI.
1485—1603 Tudor Dynasty.
1493—1514 Maximilian I (Emperor).
1494—1559 'Italian Wars' of France.

A.D.	
1498—1589	House of Valois—Orleans.
1517	Europeans enter China.
1519—56	Charles V (Emperor).
1522—1603	Buddhist age in Japan.
1526	First battle of Panipat : Babur establishes Mughal Empire.
1533—84	William the Silent (Orange).
1534	Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy.
1549	St. Xavier in Japan.
1557—1707	Akbar to death of Aurangzeb.
1579	Europeans in Canton.
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1592	Japanese invade Korea.
1598	Hideyoshi Japanese jingo died.
1598	Edict of Nantes.
1598—1610	Henry IV (France).
1603—1616	Iyeyasu.
1603	Death of Queen Elizabeth.
1603—1868	Tokugawa Shogunate.
1605	Death of Akbar.
1613	Rise of Romanoffs.
1614	Christianity proscribed in Japan.
1618—48	Thirty years' war.
1619—37	Emperor Ferdinand II.
1620	May Flower "Pilgrim Fathers."
1622—73	Molière.
1623	Massacre of Amboyna.
1624—42	Louis XIII.
	Cardinal Richelieu.
1632	Battle of Lützen.
	Gustavus Adolphus defeated Wallenstein.
1637	The English at Canton.
1638	Persecution of Christians in Japan.
1640—88	Frederick the Great Elector.
1643—1715	Louis XIV.
1643—1661	Cardinal Mazarin.
1644—1912	Ching or Manchu Dynasty.
1646—80	Shivaji.
1648	Treaty of Westphalia.

A.D.

- 1649 Charles I executed.
- 1649—58 Cromwell.
- 1654 Treaty of Westminster. (Navigation Acts).
- 1657—1707 Aurangzeb.
- 1676—1708 Guru Govind Singh.
- 1679—1707 Ajit Singh and Durgadas.
- 1682—1725 Peter the Great.
- 1685 Sir Josiah Child dreams of British Empire in India.
- 1688 Glorious Revolution.
- 1688—1713 Frederick II.
- 1696 Peter became Czar.
- 1697 Peace of Ryswick.
- 1700 Spanish branch of Hapsburg ended.
- 1700—13 War of Spanish Succession.
- 1707—12 Bahadur Shah I.
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
- 1713—40 Frederick William I.
- 1715—74 Louis XV.
- 1740 Death of Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI.
- 1740—65 Maria Theresa.
- 1740—86 Frederick the Great.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1751 Clive takes Arcot.
- 1756 Diplomatic Revolution.
- 1756—63 Seven years' war.
- 1757 Battle of Plassey.
- 1759 Quebec captured by Wolfe.
- 1760—1820 George III.
- 1760 Col. Coote's victory at Wandewash.
- 1761 Pondicherry taken by the English.
- Third Battle of Panipat.
- 1762—96 Catherine II.
- 1763 Regulating Act.
- 1764 Battle of Buxar.
- 1765—90 Joseph II.
- 1769—79 Captain Cook's discoveries.
- 1772, 1793, 1795 Partitions of Poland.
- 1774—1833 Raja Ram Mohan Roy.
- 1774—92 Louis XVI.

A.D.	
1775—83	Revolt of American Colonies.
1789	French Revolution.
1792	English Embassy at Canton.
1793—94	Reign of Terror.
1797—1815	Napoleon Bonaparte.
1801—25	Alexander I.
1806	Austrian branch of Hapsburgs ended by Napoleon.
1815	Waterloo. Vienna Congress.
1817—98	Sir Saiyyad Ahmad.
1818	Maratha's finally overthrown.
1821	Mexico independent.
1822	Brazil independent.
1824—83	Swami Dayananda Saraswati.
1830, 1848	National and Democratic risings in Europe.
1832, 1867, 1884	Parliament Reforms.
1833	East India Co's opium monopoly in China cancelled.
1839—42	Opium Wars.
1842	Treaty of Nanking.
1842—1900	M. G. Ranade.
1849—73	Livingstone in Africa.
1853	Commodore Perry's adventure : Japan reopened for foreign intercourse.
1854—56	Crimean War.
1857	Mutiny in India.
1861	United Italy. Civil War in America.
1861—64	Taiping Revolt.
1866	Peking sacked by Europeans. Austria defeated by Germany at Sadowa.
1867—1912	Meiji Era in Japan.
1867—1918	Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.
1869	Suez Canal constructed by Lesseps.
1870	Murder of missionaries in China : occupation of Annam and Tongking by the French and Burma by the British.
1871	Paris occupied by the Germans after French defeat at Sedan. Treaty of Frankfort.
1875	The Third Republic in France.
1878	Treaty of Berlin.
1885	Indian National Congress founded.

A.D.

- 1888 Accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II.
- 1895—97 Swami Vivekananda in the West.
- 1897 Germans occupy Shantung.
- 1899 The Hague International Court.
- 1899—1900 Boxer Revolt in China.
- 1902—22 Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- 1904—5 Russo-Japanese War.
- 1911 George V's visit to India.
- 1912 China becomes a Republic. Sun Yat-Sen.
- 1914—18 The Great War.
- 1917—18 Russian Revolution.
- 1919 Treaty of Versailles.
- 1920 Treaty of Sevres.
- 1922 Washington Conference. Mussolini's march on Rome :
Fascist revolution.
- 1923 Lausanne Conference.
- 1924 Caliphate abolished by Turkey. Death of Lenin.
- 1933 Nazi revolution in Germany.
- 1935 Italian conquest of Abyssinia.
- 1936 Civil War in Spain.
- 1937 Sino-Japanese War begun.
- 1938 German coup in Austria.
Dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia.

APPENDIX A

COST OF THE GREAT WAR (1914-18)

Men Killed in Action or by Wounds :

Portugal	=	2,000
Greece	=	7,000
U. S. A.	=	49,000
Bulgaria	=	100,000
Roumania	=	100,000
Belgium	=	102,000
Serbia & Montenegro	=	125,000
Turkey	=	250,000
Italy	=	462,000
Austria	=	800,000
Br. Empire	=	900,000
France	=	1,385,000
Germany	=	1,600,000
Russia	=	1,700,000
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Total	=	7,582,000
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N. B.—This does not include men otherwise dead or missing. It is also to be remembered that those who were killed in action were the flower of the manhood of the belligerent countries.

DIRECT WAR EXPENDITURE IN DOLLARS

Japan & Greece	=	1,000,000,000
Turkey & Bulgaria	=	3,000,000,000
Belgium, Roumania, Portugal & Jugo-Slavia	=	5,000,000,000
Italy	=	13,000,000,000
Russia	=	18,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	=	21,000,000,000
U. S. A.	=	22,000,000,000
France	=	26,000,000,000
Br. Empire	=	38,000,000,000
Germany	=	39,000,000,000
		<hr/>
Total	=	186,000,000,000
		<hr/>

N. B.—This does not include value of property destroyed; yet it works out at 2,000 dollars for every mile of the distance from the Earth to the Sun! The total cost of all the wars during a century from 1815—1914 was only about \$ 25,000,000,000.

APPENDIX B

Expenditure on Armaments in Dollars

	1913	1930
Japan	= 96,000,000,000	232,000,000,000
Italy	= 179,000,000,000	259,000,000,000
France	= 349,000,000,000	455,000,000,000
Germany	= 463,000,000,000	170,000,000,000
Gr. Britain	= 375,000,000,000	535,000,000,000
U. S. S. R.	= 448,000,000,000	579,000,000,000
U. S. A.	= 245,000,000,000	728,000,000,000

N. B.—Enormous as these figures are the expenditure in recent years has been incredibly increased. The above expenditure works out per head of the population (1930) at \$ 3 in Germany, 4 in Japan and Russia, 7 in U. S. A., 8 in Italy, 11 in Gr. Britain, and 13 in France. The percentage of the National Budget being 5 in Germany, 14 in Gr. Britain, 17 in U. S. A., 22 in France and 24 in Italy.

In 1934 the total military expenditure of Russia, France, Britain, Italy, U. S. A., Japan, Roumania, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Germany, Austria, and Hungary was £639,030,074. The highest was Russia, next came France, third Japan, and fourth Germany.

APPENDIX C

The Fighting Forces of the Powers to-day

		Regular Army	Organised Reserve	Trained Manpower	Available in a Week's Mobilization
France	=	580,000	5,420,000	6,000,000	1,000,000
Germany	=	700,000	2,000,000	2,700,000	1,250,000
Austria	=	60,000	190,000	250,000	150,000
Italy	=	450,000	1,000,000	1,450,000	950,000
Russia	=	1,000,000	14,000,000	15,000,000	1,500,000
Gr. Britain	=	100,000	350,000	450,000	200,000
Turkey	=	160,000	540,000	700,000	200,000
Belgium	=	90,000	700,000	790,000	200,000
U. S. A.	=	128,000	291,000	419,000	239,000
Japan	=	250,000	2,000,000	2,250,000	700,000

Air and Naval Forces Total Personnel

		Air	Navy
France	=	40,000	117,933
Germany	=	100,000	54,700
Italy	=	60,000	103,163
Russia	=	50,000	23,600
Gr. Britain	=	70,000	185,586
U. S. A.	=	38,000	192,824
Japan	=	10,000	159,839

APPENDIX D

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Select Clauses from the Covenant)

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security,

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments,

and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.—Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intentions to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League,...

ARTICLE 2.—The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 7.—The Seat of the League is established at Geneva. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

ARTICLE 10.—The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. . . .

ARTICLE 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual. . . .

ARTICLE 16.—Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

ARTICLE 18.—Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 22.—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

ARTICLE 23.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations ;

- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connexion, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914—18 shall be borne in mind ;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

N. B.—The first great European to forestall this idea of a Committee of Nations for securing the Peace of the World was the Dutchman Hugo Grotius (1583—1645) whose motto in life was : ‘I shall never cease to use my utmost endeavours for establishing peace among Christians ; and if I should not succeed it will be honourable to die in such an endeavour.’ The great book he wrote was called *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* or Concerning the Law of War and Peace. In it he examined various methods by which international questions might be settled without war, and proposed the idea of conferences and international arbitration. ‘But especially are Christian Kings and States’, he wrote, ‘bound to try this way of avoiding war.’ An equally earnest Christian missionary more recently declared :

The League of Nations is the one great hope of the world. The Peace we must have can come no other way. The present opportunity is without a parallel in human history. The hour

is great, even the greatest in the long story of troubled man. There is nothing like it in the crowded annals of the mighty centuries. Lose it, and all is lost. Let it go, and the flood gates will not be long before they open and the deluge of misery and death will overwhelm us. Lose it, and the generation that follows will scorn us for our blindness and cowardice, or want of zeal and enthusiasm for the welfare of the world. The opportunity creates a sacred and solemn obligation. Before us is the chance to save the future! Woe to us!—unutterable woe to us if we let it slip by unused.

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